General Discussion on the Budget

Mr. George Chakyamuri.—Before I propose to review the budget of the year I deem it my duty to request you to convey to His Highness the Maharaja the felicitations of my constituents as well as of my own, since we are meeting here for the first time after the accession of His Highness to the *Gadi*. It is really a matter for special congratulation that His Highness has begun his reign with substantial boons to his subjects. I refer to the boons relating to the constitutional development granted to the subjects. The right to put supplementary questions, the extension of franchise and the right to elect our own Deputy President are certainly rights which are of great consequence. I do not agree with the Hon'ble Member for Anthikkad in thinking that they are merely inconsequential. They are substantial rights and we feel highly indebted to our Sovereign and to the Diwan who must have tendered advice to His Highness in the matter. These boons have an added significance since they have come unasked. They come with very great grace from a Sovereign especially when it comes to us just on his assuming the powers of administration in the State. I do not mean to contend that this is that is required for the time being. But what I say is coming, as it does, unsolicited, it has a special significance. Those of us who have had occasion to study the history of constitutional progress of other countries must know, with what great difficulty and after what amount of fight and trouble, those rights have been drawn out of the Sovereign in other countries. But we in Cochin have had always a special privilege and a special luck of getting these things almost unasked. Therefore it is that I say these boons have an added significance and an added grace.

As I said I do not mean to contend that we will be satisfied with these powers for all times. We are certainly entitled to more powers. In these days when in British India the question of complete Provincial Autonomy is almost a settled fact and the only question is with regard to the extending of the powers of the people in the matter of the central administration, I must contend that the powers enjoyed by this House are extremely meagre. We have in fact no control over the purse and the highest power that this House can wield is perhaps to walk out of the House if we do not agree with the Government. I say that time is certainly ripe for the bestowing of further constitutional powers on the representatives of the people and I am sure that with a Sovereign so well-intentioned and so benign in his activities the time will not be far when we in this House would be endowed with more effective powers.

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The question of further extending the franchise is certainly an all-important question and we are particularly grateful that this question has been taken up by the Government. I take it that the Government will be guided at least in that matter by the deliberations of this House before deciding as to the forms in which that extension is to be made. Before I discuss the question of extending the franchise I have to say that any amount of extension of the franchise would be of no use if coupled with that, additional powers are not granted to this House. (*Hear, hear*). By merely extending the franchise we can only create difficulties in the way of intending candidates. No useful purpose would be served to the public of Cochin by multiplying the number of voters or by increasing the list. Unless and until the Government intends to confer substantial powers, it is my firm conviction that no useful purpose would be served thereby.

While we are on this question of extension of franchise, I have to say a word more and that is before the Government makes any decision, they will be well advised to have the matter threshed out by a representative Committee of this House. It is a vexed question. No doubt, we have the advantage of the Lothian Committee Report, but how far the recommendations of that Committee will be applicable to the particular conditions of this State is a matter to be decided by the representatives of the people of this State. I say therefore that before the Government makes final decision with regard to the question of the extension of franchise, the entire question of franchise, along with the anomalies of the existing constitution will have to be gone into by a representative Committee of this House.

As we are working the constitution at present, our constitution is full of anomalies both in the matter of representation as well as in the matter of distribution of seats. One important point in this connection which I want to bring to the notice of the Government is the anomalous position of the minorities. As at present designed under the existing Regulation, some minority communities do not get any representation at all, while some communities get double representation. I refer to the practice obtaining in this State of some minority communities having seats reserved and at the same time voting in the general constituencies. I say it is a constitutional mistake, the analogy of which can never be found in any State. In British India the question is still agitating the minds of British Indian politicians. The question there is between joint electorates with seats reserved and communal electorates and our system of double representation is unheard of. Here we have joint and commu-

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nal electorates the result being that the minorities exercise rights of double voting which is not enjoyed anywhere else. I happened to attend the All India Catholic Conference in Mangalore and there the controversy ranged round the question whether the minorities in British India should ask for communal electorates or for joint electorates with seats reserved. It was a heated debate and Rao Bahadur Pannirselvam who was subsequently a representative at the Round Table Conference, was on one side and Mr. J. A. Saldanha, M. L. C., was on the other. The House was almost equally divided. Some people said that in the interest of national Government joint electorates with reservation of seats would be essential while others thought that unless and until communal electorates were introduced the minorities would have no proper representation in the Councils. In the midst of the controversy I offered my humble remarks and I told them how we in Cochin treat the minority communities. For me it was an easy solution, knowing as I do the system obtaining here. As an easy solution I said that the easiest thing would be to ask for both, to ask for communal representation as well as voting power in the general constituencies. I said we in Cochin treat the minorities in this fashion. Of course the idea struck them as a novel one. But they said it is an absolutely impossible ideal. The question has been considered both by the Simon Committee as well as the Committee presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru. Both those Committees are of opinion that it would be an anomalous position to give both kinds of representation to the minority communities. I should not be understood to be crying down the claims of the minorities. If they deserve more seats, give them as many seats as possible. Either give them communal seats or joint electorates with seats reserved. But don't give them both.

I wish to point out another anomaly and that is, under the existing system very small minority communities get representation while very big minority communities get no representation. Now a seat is reserved for the Jews. I daresay the population of the Jews in the State would not exceed 1,000 in all. The Valans who are 20,000 in number are not getting any representation. If one seat can be reserved for the Jews the Valans should get 20 seats. I repeat my only object is to draw the attention of the Government to these existing anomalies so as to show that the question has to be carefully gone into by the constitution of a Franchise Committee. Again the Konginies, a most influential community with large vested interests have no representation. What is the justification for giving a seat for the Jews and not giving one for the Kongini commu-

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nity? So also there are several other anomalies in the existing constitution. Before I conclude this part of my speech I would urge upon the Government once again the necessity for constituting a Committee to go into the details with regard to these questions before any further revision of the franchise or any question of further constitutional advance is taken up.

The next point I desire to advert to is the question of the Harbour and Railway. The Hon'ble the Finance Member has rightly characterised them as the two lungs of the body politic of Cochin. He has also told us that lakhs of money had already been spent and that lakhs of money have yet to be spent. We have no quarrel with the Government for spending any amount of money for these productive works. All that I complain is that the people of Cochin are kept in the darkness about these affairs. (*Hear, hear.*) In a matter like this I respectfully venture to ask whether it is not the duty of the Government to inform us of the situation as they develop. All that we hear is that the Diwan is going to Simla or to Madras to attend certain conferences. Beyond that we do not know anything. I do not find fault with you Sir, nor is it for want of confidence in you that I make these observations. You can strengthen your own position by taking us into your confidence in these vital matters. The Harbour and Railway are tabooed subjects. We know, it is not because His Highness or the Diwan do not want us to discuss them that they are tabooed, but it may be due to other external considerations like Imperial Prestige. But what is there for the Government to take us into your confidence and keep us informed of these matters? My contention is that although it may not be possible for you to allow us to discuss these questions, it will be quite possible to have a Committee of this House to tender advice in these matters. The Members of that Committee knowing the public opinion in the matter will be able to tender you useful advice as occasions arise. We are also informed that the Government is having certain cases argued before certain tribunals regarding this matter. Yet we do not know what those cases are, who argues them and who looks after the interests of Cochin in all these things. Therefore what I beg to contend is that it is the duty of the Government as long as they are making such enormous investments of the money collected from the people, to inform us of the progress of these litigations, these conferences and these councils.

With these remarks I would make a few passing observations regarding the various Departments. First and foremost I would certainly congratulate the Government for the

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attempts made by them to cut expenses as far as possible. We really feel grateful to the Government for having accepted the resolution of this House to cut the salaries of the Government Officers. Over and above that the Government have also reduced the travelling allowances and we have it from the Finance Member that they are still contemplating further reduction in travelling allowances. All these things make us feel grateful particularly on account of the recognition given to our considered decision. As I submitted, this House has very little power and there was a time when this House was considered to be a mere mockery. Even Members' walking out had no effect on the Government. I remember in the first Council, on a motion moved by the then Hon'ble Member for Irinjalakkuda, there was a walk out. No I mean the Hon'ble Deputy President moved the resolution. Government I think overruled the resolution and hence there was a walk out. I did not walk out with the Hon'ble Members. I happened to be the walk-ins and the President who then occupied the Chair had the cheek to say to those who lagged behind "To-day we shall disperse. You see they will be going out today, but I am sure you see they will come back to-morrow". (*Laughter*). That was the view taken of the representations of the House at that time.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—And you did not leave the Hall after that!

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Probably because you remained behind.

Mr. George Chakyamuri.—That was the view taken by the Government of the extreme measures adopted by this House. But now we find that although even now this House is technically powerless, and legally powerless, by the present Government's anxiety to act according to the wishes of this House we have acquired a status and dignity of our own. So that while I congratulate the Government for the cuts made and also congratulate the officers who have willingly borne them, I say there is a greater significance in these and that is the great consideration shown to the representations made by the Members of this House.

President.—The Hon'ble Member has exceeded his time.

Mr. K. G. Nayar.—Mr. President Sir, I rise to speak on this occasion with an amount of self-satisfaction which no other Hon'ble Member of this House can have to the same extent as myself, mainly because of the policy of 'Prohibition' sought to be introduced into my constituency from the year 1108 Chingam onwards (*hear, hear*). This House was voicing forth its opi-

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nion many a time that the policy of the Government in realising an amount of revenue from the sale of liquor and other intoxicants ought not to be one of the guiding factors of a civilised Government. And the Government in turn gradually appreciated the view threshed out by the Hon'ble Members of this House and now that the Government have realised that they can start this policy of prohibition in the State by experimenting from my own constituency at Nemmara, I feel highly glad and I take this opportunity of thanking the Government on behalf of my constituency and especially the Hon'ble Member for Excise and the Diwan. I am told that this experiment may prove to be a failure and that many are not hopeful of the success of this experiment. But I can assure those pessimists that if only a strong band of vigilant, young and efficient officers is put in that place and the Government issue necessary instructions from time to time and give a guarantee of a recognition of their meritorious services if the scheme were to end in a success, I am sure there is ample scope in that locality with the present facilities afforded to them to make that experiment a complete success. Neither the Hon'ble Member for Excise nor any other Hon'ble Member of this House need feel any despair about the success of the experiment, and I can assure you that the place and area chosen is the best fitted for the State now.

Sir, a general discussion of the budget is often availed of as the best opportunity to criticise or appreciate the policy of the Government and I wish to bring to the kind attention of the Government certain important aspects in the policy now pursued which, I am afraid, will adversely affect to a greater extent a proper and efficient administration of its departments. I feel that I am treading rather on a dangerous ground and perhaps I may not be even liked by many for my plain-speaking in this particular aspect. But I feel compelled to do so as a citizen of the State with its interests dear to my heart. I do not wish to refer to any particular individual or case or department for fear of being misunderstood; but I will only state the things in a general way and I believe every one present in this House, including all the visitors, will appreciate the significance of what I say.

You see, Sir, that all the Hon'ble Members on the Treasury Bench have each assigned to them a particular port-folio which they are called upon to work. Of late, it has come to the painful experience of many a man in the State that some of them, I do not wish to say who and I do not wish to make any insinuation or attribute any motive to any class of people here,

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that some of them have created a feeling of terror or disgust or discontent in their subordinates (*hear, hear*) by sitting rather too tight over them or resorting to extremely severe disciplinary measures not warranted by the circumstances which have created so much of heart burning. And it is here that I wish to say a word of caution. I do not mean that disciplinary actions should not be taken in every case, but I would only suggest to those of the Hon'ble Members on the Treasury Bench who feel compelled to resort to such extremely severe disciplinary action that they may feel that justice should often be tempered with mercy (*Hear, hear.*) There is another aspect of it which also I wish to urge here. There is a general feeling among the public now that any one can approach you at any time, I mean the Diwan, for any purpose and concerning any trivial grievance and since the Diwan pays particular attention even to the minutest details of administration and since you do not wish to offend the feelings of any or cause discontent or heart-burning to any, you, out of the impulse of goodness in you, do certain actions which indirectly tend to undermine the internal discipline of the departments concerned (*Hear, hear*) thereby fostering a threatening attitude among many a subordinate, towards many a superior officer of his. Thereby I do not in the least wish to suggest that you should remain inaccessible to others or that you should not attend to the minutest details or give unbridled license to Heads of Departments to deal with matters in any manner they like. All that I wish to say is, in order to placate a few, other interests should not suffer and that preference should be had only in extreme cases of injustice. Our State being small and the problem of unemployment being big and the educated unemployed being proportionately far greater in their number, we see that, in their interest to push forward their claims, very often all classes and communities voice forth their own particular grievances both in the Press and on the Platform to advance their cause in their own interested fashion and very often we see that there is an appeal to your sense of British justice. It is here that I wish to emphasise that proper discretion and discrimination ought to prevail. No doubt, grievances should be redressed, wrongs set right and wants attended to but not at the sacrifice of a sound policy of administration or finality of action.

This necessarily takes me on to another aspect of it, namely, the policy of appointments in the State. In the matter of appointments, it is a matter of every-day knowledge that they generally lead to disappointments, and a communal colour has now-a-days been given to the matter of appointments and rightly

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too to some extent. But, if you will take statistics, most of the appointments within the State will be seen distributed among the inhabitants of Trichur, Ernakulam and Trippunithura. I wish to draw the attention of the Government to this and to consider the claims of the other taluks of the State in the matter of the distribution of offices. There is no dearth of applicants and I am told that when a candidate from Chittur or Kunnamkulam runs up to the head-quarters and approaches the departmental head, he has to come back with a clear and invariable answer to his utter dismay that the post has been filled up already. That, I am told, is what is now taking place here. This policy ought to be changed and facilities should be given for other taluks in the State as well. As the Hon'ble Member for Chittur (rural), remarked yesterday I have got clear statistics to show that the Chittur Taluk, which contributes a fairly large portion of the revenues of the State, is practically unrepresented in the services of the State (*Hear, hear*) and I am told that, with the exception of one or two, there is practically no man from the Chittur Taluk who is occupying the position of an Officer in the State. I shall refer in particular to the two departments of Police and Excise since there is no one from the Chittur Taluk in those two departments. Is it because you cannot get applications from those places or is it because our young men feel an aversion to enter State service? Neither of it is true. It is very plain that by the time they come here to get themselves employed there are others who snatch the loaf from interested quarters. I say it is high time to put an end to this heart-burning by distributing the loaves and fishes of office in a very impartial manner as far as possible.

Sir, at the time when you entered the services of the State, you were quite new to the place and it was not possible for you to see who is who and what is what. Now that you have been in the State for two years, working whole-heartedly for its welfare with your characteristic devotion to duty, honesty and sincerity, it is possible now for you to distinguish between men and matters and if you are able to see through things it is easy for you to set right these matters which I feel compelled to remark on the floor of this House. I really do not want to strike such a discordant note so soon. But from my little experience of the trend of events, although I am a casual observer from the distant Palghat side, I was so much pained to see them that I thought I would take advantage of this opportunity to ventilate these grievances in the open Council here, and to such of the Hon'ble Members who feel that I ought not to have plainly stated these things in this House, I request them that they may be pleased to

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forgive me on this ground, that these things were placed before you by me not because I have an axe to grind in the matter and not because I hold brief for any particular person but because the interests of the State will seriously suffer since it is tom-tom practically that the politics of Cochin State has dwindled to one of job-hunting. (*Hear, hear*). I wish to be clearly understood that I have practically nothing personal in this matter. So far as my relationship as an Hon'ble Member of this Council with the Treasury Bench is concerned it has been nothing but cordial so that I am not going to suggest that in any of the particular instances or individual cases there has been any hardship. What I mean to say and assert now is that the policy of the Government should be so shaped that there should not be any hitch between the Ruler and the ruled, there should not be any serious controversy between the Heads of Departments and the Chief Executive Head and the public should not go easily by saying 'let him do a thing, I shall see that the other door is open to me'. That will lead to a terrible chaos from which I believe you will save the country. That is the internal policy of the Government which I wanted to lay before the floor of this House. I have done it in a general manner and I may be excused, for this plain-speaking.

I shall now say one word or two regarding the external policy which we are pursuing. More than one Hon'ble Member has referred to the Railway and Harbour and the constitutional aspect of our Council. The necessity for an Executive Council has been brought forward to the attention of the Government many a time and I wish you will seriously consider before you lay down the reins of office whether something can be done in that direction. Now we are on the eve of a series of reforms to be introduced in India to make it a Federal one and Cochin has necessarily to play an important part as a partner of a Federal India. I have heard it said on the best authority that you have been fighting for the cause of Cochin in many of the Conferences that you attended at Delhi and Madras and I have heard from an important official in British India that no Cochinite would have championed the cause of Cochin much better. (*Hear, hear.*) That is of much credit to you, but in spite of that there is a widespread despair in all Cochin as to the ultimate results of the Harbour development (*Hear, hear*), whether the important portion of our Cochin State on which we rely for a resourceful income for all years to come will not be snatched away from our hands. You will see in the matter of jurisdiction over a portion of the Harbour in Cochin and in the matter of trade relationships

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there seems to have been some controversy. I am not going to deal with these controversial subjects which have been tabooed from the purview of discussion here. I would suggest that in these matters, where the relationship of the Cochin State with the Imperial Government is concerned, you will, as before, fight not only as a true Cochinite would do but more, because in you the whole of Cochin has implicit confidence and the trust reposed in you should be fully justified by you. (*Hear, hear*).

A word about the Railway. You see in this conversion of our Railway into broad-gauge so much of our money is being spent and I am informed on reliable authority that in the adjacent sister State of Travancore they had occasion to appoint a Special Officer whose careful inspection brought them a net saving of a lakh and odd rupees. And here also in the State if we supervise the working of the Railway, now under the guidance of the South Indian Railway Company to whom you have given the contract, by appointing a Special Officer available or taking one from the service, I think much of our money which would otherwise be a loss could be saved. That is a matter for you to consider and I think in the present state of things, from what I have heard and known of the working of the Railways it may not, after all, be profitable for us to leave it unchecked and without supervision.

So much with regard to the external policy which we are now following. I wish to advert to a few other matters relating to some departments of the State. I am not going to give much of the statistics, time being limited. What has already been provided for I am not going to comment upon. What I consider to be certain matters of absolute necessity to which a step-motherly attitude has been shown, I wish to draw the attention of the Government.

I take up the question of irrigation. On a careful scrutiny of the budget and the speech of the Finance Member one painfully finds that the question of irrigation is shelved on for a few years on the ground that some report has to be obtained from the Special Officer in the near future. Sir, you will see that Cochin is mainly an agricultural country except perhaps in the town of Mattancheri and the neighbourhood of Ernakulam, where there is a trading centre. As it is an agricultural country, sufficient quantity of water supply to raise their cultivation in times of drought and famine and even in ordinary agricultural seasons is necessary. But there is not adequate water supply. Now, that this has been engaging the attention of the Government for a long time is seen from the speeches in the Council and the very necessity of a Special Officer to find out means for improving

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the methods of irrigation, is itself a sufficient justification to prove its urgency, and importance. I find from practical experience in my own constituency and especially at Nemmara in particular that there are ample facilities for irrigation and much of the water flowing down the Hills is practically wasted and emptied into the Arabian Sea. Only a small bunding up of a stream or thodu was considered necessary so far as that little place was concerned and I think I have on more than one occasion invited the attention of the Government to the particular necessity of my constituency for a bigger scheme of irrigation which has been brushed aside in toto. I am told the Chief Engineer is considering certain proposals whether such a system would be efficacious or not. How long we have to consider may be decided by you and I wish the Government will consider and decide soon.

Coming to the Department of Agriculture you see that the benefits which were expected to be derived from that particular department, the ryot is completely denied. I fail to see why we should maintain such a department when the rural area practically derives no benefit whatsoever. I would in this connection suggest to the Government that a Board of Agriculture be appointed by the State wherein members may come as committee members not because that they may claim a fat travelling allowance but as honorary members who will serve the State for the purpose of the love of labour (*Hear, hear*). I think there will be many a man to serve on such a Board of Agriculture properly constituted. If an Agricultural Board is constituted and the members work earnestly I think the existence of this department will be more than justified. In that connection I wish to suggest one main important point for the consideration of the Revenue Member, that there is a complaint from my constituency and elsewhere that although there is a system of granting agricultural loans for the improvement of agriculture, still if applications are put in, on one ground or other they are shelved to the background. So that at least in future such complaints may be minimised.

Coming to the Panchayat Department you will see that the very institution of the Panchayats is as a unit of self-government and the Panchayats not being in a very competent position to undertake all works, it is better that the Panchayats are also given some special assistance in the matter of the construction of roads or some other departments of their activities where the Panchayat Registrar may not be a real expert.

President.—The Hon'ble Member has only two minutes more.

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Mr. K. G. Nayar.—One word with regard to hospitals. The health and well-being of the sick and the poor is and ought to be one of the main considerations of the Government. In my round of visits to the various hospitals of the State I have found that the Government have not been paying any particular attention to their urgent necessities, because I see there are many complaints from many a hospital that their needs are not properly attended to on account of the old cry of want of funds. It is of supreme importance that some more funds are diverted for that branch, *viz.*, hospital administration.

Regarding education I have nothing special to say. It swallows the major portion of our revenue and let us await the results of the Educational Survey. The departments of Central Jail, Law and Justice, Police, etc., require some more scrutiny and I hope the Government will bestow the necessary attention. Regarding the business of the Council, I have one word to say. Although the Secretary attends to it very well, I have experienced some difficulty in getting the proceedings of the Council communicated to me in time, perhaps under pressure of work and the delay in printing in the Press. It is better that the Secretary with his usual alertness sees that the proceedings of the Council are despatched to the Members at the earliest possible opportunity.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ.—ഞാൻ പറയുവാനുദ്ദേശിച്ചിരുന്ന ക്രമത്തിൽ പറഞ്ഞുതുടങ്ങുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാത്ത വിധത്തിൽ ഒരു അഭിപ്രായം ഇവിടെ പല്ലുരുത്തി മെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞിരിയ്ക്കുന്നു. ഫ്രാഞ്ചൈസ് വിസ്താരപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിനെപറ്റി ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട പല്ലുരുത്തിമെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ള അഭിപ്രായത്തോട് എനിക്കു യോജിക്കുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. സ്ത്രീകൾക്കും പ്രത്യേക നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളും പൊതുനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽ വോട്ടും കൊടുത്തിരിയ്ക്കുന്നതു് ഒരു അനാമലി ആണെന്നു് ഈ രാജ്യം തന്നെലോകത്തിൽ ഒരുഅനാമലിയാണ് ഈരാജ്യത്തു് ഒരുഅനാമലിയോ? അയിരം അനാമലികൾ നിറഞ്ഞുവച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതാണ് ഈ രാജ്യം. ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള ഈ രാജ്യത്തു് പ്രയോജനകരമായ, ആവശ്യമായ ചില സമുദായക്കാർക്കു് പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കിട്ടുന്നതിനു വേണ്ടതായ ഈ ഒരു അനാമലി വച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിയ്ക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് ഒരു തരക്കേടുമില്ല. പ്രത്യേക നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ളവർക്ക് സാമാന്യനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽ വോട്ടു പാടില്ലെന്നായതൊരു ഗുരുദ്ദോഷവും വച്ചുകൊണ്ടല്ല മെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞതെങ്കിലും അതു നടപ്പിൽ വരുമ്പോൾ ചില ദുർഫലങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാവിച്ചേക്കും. എന്തെങ്കിലും കരം കൊടുക്കുന്നവരുടെ കണക്കുനോക്കിയാൽ നായന്മാർ ഫൻ,൦൦൦ ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾ ൨൫,൦൦൦ ഈഴവർ

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ഫ്ര.,൦ ൦ ൦ -ം ആണ്. ഈ സ്ഥിതിക്ക് ചിലസമുദായങ്ങൾ മാത്രം സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ മിക്കതും പിടിച്ചു കൊണ്ടുപോകാതിരിയ്ക്കുവാൻ ഈന്യൂന സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കുംകൂടി സാമാന്യനിയോജക മണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽ വോട്ടുകൊടുക്കുന്നതു നല്ലതാണ്. ൨൪,൦൦൦ ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികളും ഫ്ര൯,൦ ൦ ൦ നായന്മാരുംകൂടി പിടിച്ചാൽ ആരു ജയിക്കുമെന്നുള്ളതു തീർച്ചയാണല്ലൊ. സമുദായ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിന്മേൽ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പു നടക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ—മിക്കവാറും അങ്ങനെയാണല്ലോ നടക്കുന്നതു—ഇന്നാന ഒരു പരിഹാരമായി പന്തീരായിരം ഈഴവരും, കുറെ ആയിരം മുസ്ലീമിങ്ങളും, കുറെയൂഡന്മാരും, മറ്റു പ്രത്യേക നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളുള്ളവരുംകൂടി ചേന്നാൽ ആ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പു മറ്റുവിധത്തിൽ ഉള്ള മാതിരി തരക്കേടിൽ വരുകയില്ല. നമ്മുടെ എല്ലാവരുടേയും ലക്ഷ്യം സാമാന്യനിയോജകമണ്ഡലമാണ്. അതിൽനിന്നു നമ്മെ ഇങ്ങോട്ടു പിടിച്ചു കൊണ്ടുപോരാൻ മംഗലാപുരത്തു് ആരോ ഒരു സഭകൂടി പറഞ്ഞതു് ഇവിടെ ഒരു പ്രമാണമായി കൊണ്ടുവന്നതിൽ അത്ഭുതപ്പെടുന്നു. സാമാന്യനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ കൊടുത്തു കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ എല്ലാവക്കും പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കിട്ടിയെന്നു വരുകയില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടാണ് ചില പ്രത്യേക നിയോജക മണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ തല്ക്കാലത്തേയ്ക്കു വച്ചിരിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്. പ്രത്യേകനിയോജക മണ്ഡലങ്ങൾതന്നെ സമുദായങ്ങളുടെ സംഖ്യയനുസരിച്ചു കൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ല എന്നുള്ളതും പ്രത്യേകം ഓർക്കേണ്ടതാണ.

തല്ക്കാലം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ള ഈ പരിരക്ഷകൊണ്ടാണ് ന്യൂനസമുദായക്കാർക്ക് അവരുടെ കാര്യങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെവന്നു പറയുവാൻ സാധിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്. സാമാന്യനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നുതന്നെ അവർക്കു പ്രതിനിധികളെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നകാലത്തു് ഈ പ്രത്യേകനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളെ എടുത്തുകളയാവുന്നതാണ്.

ഇരട്ടിപ്പു വോട്ട് ഒരു അനാമലിയല്ല. ലോതിയൻ കമ്മറിറി റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽതന്നെ ഡിപ്രസ്ഡ് ക്ലാസിനെസംബന്ധിച്ച് ഈ മാതിരി രക്ഷ ആലോചിക്കാതിരുന്നിട്ടില്ല. പ്രത്യേകനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളും, സാമാന്യനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽ വോട്ടും കൊടുത്താൽ അതെല്ലാം അനാമലിയാണെങ്കിലും! സാമാന്യനിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ ജയമില്ലാത്ത സമുദായങ്ങൾക്ക് നാമിനേഷൻ കൊണ്ടുപ്രാതിനിധ്യം കൊടുത്താൽ അവക്ക് സാമാന്യത്തിൽ വോട്ടു പാടില്ലെന്നു് പള്ളരുത്തി മെമ്പർതന്നെ വാദിയ്ക്കുമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. നാമിനേഷനിലും നല്ല ഒരു മാർഗമായിട്ടുമാത്രമാണ് പ്രത്യേകനിയോജകമണ്ഡലം. ഈ കാര്യത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ഗവർമ്മെൻറു് കമ്മിറിറിയെ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിയാലും, എന്തായാലും ശരി, രക്ഷകിട്ടാഞ്ഞ സമുദായക്കാരുടെ പരിരക്ഷാകാര്യം കൂടി നോക്കണം എന്നേ എനിയ്ക്കു് പറയാനുള്ളൂ. കണക്ക് വലിയ വി

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ഷമക്കാരനാണ്. ൨൪,൦൦൦ -ം, ൟ൯,൦൦൦ -ം, ൟ൨,൦൦൦ -ം കൂടി യുള്ള ഏറ്റപ്പാട് എങ്ങിനെയിരിയ്ക്കുമെന്നു് ഗവമ്മേണ്ടു് നല്ലപോലെ ആലോചിച്ചുകൊള്ളണമെന്നപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു.

പിന്നെ ബഡ്ജറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും അതിലെ ചിലവുകളും വരവുകളും സാധാരണ സ്ഥിതിയ്ക്കു വേണ്ടിടത്തോളം യോജിച്ച വിധത്തിൽ കൊള്ളിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. എന്നാൽ അതുകൊണ്ടുമാത്രം പോരാ. ഓരോരാജ്യത്തിനും ചിലപ്പോൾ ഓരോ വിഷമഘട്ടങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കും. ആ പ്രത്യേക വിഷമഘട്ടങ്ങളിൽ രാജ്യവാസികളെ രക്ഷിയ്ക്കുവാൻതക്ക ചില പ്രത്യേക കായ്ങ്ങൾ കൂടി നടത്തേണ്ട ഭാരം ഗവമ്മേണ്ടിനുണ്ടു്. ഇപ്പോഴുള്ള വലിയ വിഷമം നാട്ടിലുള്ള തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മയും, ദാരിദ്ര്യവുമാണു്. അതിലേയ്ക്കു് കൊച്ചി ഗവമ്മേണ്ടു് വിചാരിച്ചാൽ തല്ക്കാലം കായ്മായ പരിഹാരം ഒന്നും ചെയ്യാൻ സാധിയ്ക്കയില്ലെന്നു് എനിയ്ക്കറിയാം. ഇൻഡ്യാ ഗവമ്മേണ്ടുതന്നെ അവക്ക് ഇതു വിഷമമാണു്; സാധിയ്ക്കയില്ലെന്നു പറയുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ഗവമ്മേണ്ടിനു് ചില കായ്ങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യാൻ സാധിയ്ക്കും പബ്ലിക്കു് വർക്സിനു് അലാട്ടു് ചെയ്യുന്ന സംഖ്യകൾ ലാപ്സ് ആകാതെയിരുന്നാൽ വളരെ ആളുകൾക്കു് വേല കിട്ടുവാൻ ഇടയുണ്ടു്. റിവൈസ്ഡ് എസ്റ്റിമേറ്റ് നോക്കിയാൽ എത്രയെത്ര സംഖ്യകൾ ലാപ്സായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നറിഞ്ഞുകൂടാ. കൊല്ലംതോറും വളരെ സംഖ്യകൾ ലാപ്സാകുന്നുമുണ്ടു്. അങ്ങിനെ ഗവമ്മെൻറിനു സാധിയ്ക്കാവുന്ന കായ്ങ്ങളിൽ കൂടി പ്രവൃത്തിച്ചു് രാജ്യത്തിലുള്ള തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മയും, ദാരിദ്ര്യവും പരിഹരിയ്ക്കാൻ ശ്രമിയ്ക്കണമെന്നപേക്ഷയുണ്ടു്.

ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരവും, എക്സിക്യൂട്ടീവ് കൌൺസിലും റസ്പാൺസിബിൾ ഗവമ്മേണ്ടും മറ്റും വേണമെന്നുള്ള അഭിപ്രായത്തോടും ഞാൻ യോജിക്കാതിരുന്നില്ല. എന്നാൽ ഒരു കായ്മാത്രം—ചില സമുദായങ്ങൾക്ക തൽക്കാലം അവർ മാറുള്ളവരുടെ ശക്തിയിൽ അമങ്ങി പോകാതെയിരിയ്ക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണമുള്ള പരിരക്ഷകൾ ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ട. ശ്രമങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യണമെന്നേ എനിയ്ക്കു പറയാനുള്ളൂ.

ഇനിമറ്റാരും പറയാത്ത ചില സംഗതികൾ പറയാനുണ്ടു്. ചില സമുദായങ്ങളിൽപെട്ട ജനങ്ങൾ അസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം അനുഭവിയ്ക്കുന്നുണ്ടു്. അതു പരിഹരിക്കാൻ വേണ്ടി ബഡ്ജറിൽ നിന്നു പണം ചിലവു് ചെയ്യേണ്ടതില്ല. ഒരു ഒറ്റ പൈപോലും ഇതിനായി ഗവമ്മേണ്ടു് ചിലവാക്കേണ്ട. പൊതുജനാഭിപ്രായം വളരുന്നതിനനുസരിച്ചു മുന്നോട്ടു പോകുവാനുള്ള ശ്രമത്തിൽ ഒരു സന്നദ്ധതയും ഉറപ്പും മാത്രം കാണിച്ചാൽ മതി. വിപ്ലവവും വേണ്ട, ബഹളങ്ങൾക്കുമൊന്നും പോകേണ്ട. ഞാൻ പറയുന്ന അസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യങ്ങൾക്കു് ഒരു പ്രത്യേക സമുദായത്തേയും ഇവിടെ കുറ

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പ്പെട്ടത്തുന്നില്ല. എല്ലാ സമുദായക്കാരും എന്റെ സമുദായക്കാരും ഈ അസ്പാതന്ത്ര്യ കാരണമായ അനാചാരങ്ങൾക്കും അനാവശ്യമായ ചട്ടങ്ങൾക്കുമെല്ലാം ഉത്തരവാദികളാണ്.

ഈയിടെ വലിയമ്മത്തൂരാൻ കോവിലകം വക കച്ചേരിയിൽ ഞാൻ ഒരു കാര്യം സംബന്ധിച്ചു പോയിരുന്നു. കച്ചേരി കോട്ടക്കകത്താണ്. വടക്കെ ഈഴവ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിലെ മെമ്പർ ഇന്നാര് കോട്ടയ്ക്കകത്തു പോയതാണെല്ലോ എന്നു വിചാരിച്ചു ഞാനും കയറി ചെന്നു. ഞാൻ പോയി മടങ്ങുമ്പോൾ ഒരാൾ എന്നോടു നിങ്ങൾ ആരാണെന്നു ചോദിച്ചു. ഞാൻ ഒരു ഈഴവനാണെന്നു സമാധാനം പറഞ്ഞപ്പോൾ നിങ്ങൾക്കു ഇവിടെ വരാമോ എന്നാണ് ചോദിച്ചതു്. ഈ സംഭവത്തിനു അവരാരും കുറക്കാരല്ല. നാട്ടിലെ സമുദായക്കാരുടെ അനാചാരം മാത്രമാണതു്. ഞാൻ അയാളോടു അതിനു് സമാധാനമൊന്നും പറയാതേയും, വലിയ ഭീരുത്വം കാണിക്കാതേയും എന്നാൽ വലിയ എതിരു കാട്ടാതേയും ഒരു വിധം ഇങ്ങോട്ടു പോന്നു. ഇതിനെ കുറിച്ചു നിങ്ങൾ ഒന്നു ആലോചിച്ചു നോക്കണം. ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലേക്കു വിരോധമൊന്നുമുണ്ടായിരിക്കുമെന്നു വിചാരിപ്പാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. ഈ വക സംഗതികൾ സൂക്ഷ്മമായി തിരുമനസ്സറിയിക്കുവാൻ ഞാൻ ഒരു കവിതയെഴുതി സ്വാധികാര്യക്കാർ മുഖാന്തിരം അവിടേക്കു സമർപ്പിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. അതു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു വായിച്ചു രസിച്ചു എന്നു് സ്വാധികാര്യക്കാർ എനിക്കു എഴുതിയിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഞാൻ അതിൽ പറഞ്ഞിരുന്ന ഒരു സംഗതി കോട്ടയ്ക്കകത്തുള്ള റോഡുകൾ പുലയരുടെ കാലടി വീണു പവിത്രമാകണമെന്നാണു്. അതും തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു വായിച്ചിരിക്കും. അതൊന്നും തിരുമനസ്സിലേക്കു രസിച്ചില്ലെന്നു് എഴുത്തിൽ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ല. വടക്കെ ഈഴവ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിലെ പ്രതിനിധി കോട്ടയ്ക്കകത്തു കടന്നു ചെന്നപ്പോൾ, തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു മറ്റുള്ളവരെ സ്വീകരിച്ചതുപോലെയാണു് അദ്ദേഹത്തേയും സ്വീകരിച്ചതു്. ഈ വടക്കെ ഈഴവ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിലെ പ്രതിനിധിയ്ക്കു ഇങ്ങനെ പോകാമെങ്കിൽ മറ്റുള്ള ഈഴവർക്കും പുലയർക്കും മറ്റും എന്തുകൊണ്ടു പോയിക്കൂടാ? ക്രസ്ത്യാനികൾക്കും മുഹമ്മദീയർക്കും യഹൂദന്മാർക്കും കടക്കാവുന്ന റോഡിൽ ഈഴവർക്കും പുലയർക്കും കടക്കാൻ പാടില്ലാതാക്കിതീർത്തിട്ടുള്ളതു് അവരുടെ ഭസ്മക്കുറിയും ചന്ദനക്കുറിയുമാണോ? എന്നാൽ ഞങ്ങളെ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചു ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളെയും മറ്റും കടത്താതിരിക്കേണമെന്നല്ല ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. അവർ കടന്നുകൊള്ളട്ടെ: ഇതിനെയെല്ലാം വിശാലമായ ഒരു മനസ്ഥിതിയോടു കൂടി ആലോചിക്കണം. അവരവരുടെ യഥാർത്ഥമായ നിലയെപ്പറ്റി ആലോചിച്ചു നോക്കിയാൽ വഴക്കും സ്പർദ്ധയുമൊന്നും കൂടാതെ ഈ പ്ര

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യാസങ്ങൾ നീക്കാവുന്നതാണ്. കോട്ടയ്ക്കകത്തു മാത്രമല്ല; മറെറല്ലാ റോഡുകളിലും എല്ലായിടത്തും എല്ലാവർക്കും ഒരുപോലെ പ്രവേശിക്കാറാകണം. അയിത്തം ഇല്ലാതാക്കുവാൻ ഒരു വിളംബരം വേണമെന്നു വളരെ നാളായി ഇവിടെ നിലവിളി കൂട്ടുന്നു.

അടുത്തതായി ദിവാൻജിയോടാണ് എനിക്കൊരപേക്ഷയുള്ളതു്. തീണ്ടൽ മുതലായ അസമത്വാചാരങ്ങളിൽ ഇൻഡ്യാക്കാരായ ഞങ്ങൾ പൂർണ്ണമായും പുറകിലാണു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഇതിന്റെ കഷ്ടനഷ്ടകഥ ഞങ്ങളിൽ ചിലർക്കു മനസ്സിലാകയില്ല. ഇംഗ്ലണ്ടിൽ മാറു തരത്തിലുള്ള അസമത്വങ്ങളുണ്ടെങ്കിലും ഈവക അസമത്വങ്ങൾ ഇല്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടു് ഇതിന്റെ അനീതി എത്ര മാത്രമുണ്ടെന്നു അങ്ങേക്കു് എളുപ്പം മനസ്സിലാകും. അങ്ങു് ഇവിടെനിന്നു പോകുന്നതിനു് മുമ്പുതന്നെ ഇതിനു് ഒരു പരിഹാരമുണ്ടാക്കുന്നതായാൽ വലിയ ഒരു ഉപകാരമായിരിയ്ക്കും. എല്ലാ സമുദായക്കാരിലും പരിഷ്കൃതരായ ആളുകൾതന്നെ ഇതിൽ അങ്ങേയ്ക്കു വിരോധികളാകയില്ല. (*Hear, hear*).

പിന്നെ നായർ പട്ടാളത്തിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു പ്രവേശനം കിട്ടിയാൽ കൊള്ളാമെന്നൊരപേക്ഷയുണ്ടു്. വല്ല യുദ്ധമോ മറേറാ വരികയാണെങ്കിൽ നിശ്ചയമായും ഞങ്ങളെ നിർബ്ബന്ധിച്ചുതന്നെ അതിൽ ചേർക്കും. എന്നാൽ തോരണംപോലെ അലങ്കാരമായി നിൽക്കുന്ന ഈ നിലയിൽ ഞങ്ങളേയും ഒന്നു നിലനിർത്തുവാൻ അനുവദിച്ചാൽ—ഒരു കൌതുകത്തിനുമാത്രം—അതു് വളരെ സന്തോഷമായിരിയ്ക്കും. തല്ക്കാലം ഒരു ഭാഗത്തിൽ മാത്രമെങ്കിലും പ്രവേശനം കൊടുക്കുക— ഞങ്ങൾ ഇതിൽ വളരെ മിതവാദികളാകാം— പിന്നീടു് ക്രമേണ എല്ലാത്തിലും കൊടുത്തുകൊണ്ടാൽ മതി. ഞങ്ങളും അനുഭവിക്കട്ടെ ഇതെല്ലാം!

ഇനി ഇവിടത്തെ സംസ്കൃത കാളേജിനെപറ്റിയാണു് പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്. എത്രതവണ പറഞ്ഞാലും വേദാന്തം നായന്മാർക്കു പഠിച്ചുകൂടാ. ശാസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ നായന്മാർക്കും ഈഴവർക്കും പഠിച്ചുകൂടാ. വേദാന്ത സൂത്രമെഴുതിയതു് പറച്ചിയുടെ മകനായ പരാശരനു് അരവത്തായിലുണ്ടായ വേദവ്യാസനാണു്. ആസ്ഥിതിയ്ക്കു് വേദാന്തം അരയന്മാർക്കും പുലയർക്കും ഈഴവർക്കും മറും പഠിച്ചുകൂടെന്നു പറയുന്നവർക്കു് വേദാന്തത്തെപറ്റി എന്തറിയാം? സംസ്കൃത സംഹിതയെപറ്റി എന്തറിയാം?

പിന്നെയൊരു കാര്യം. ദിവാൻജി ചില സമുദായക്കാരുടെ സങ്കടങ്ങൾ കേൾക്കുന്നതും, അധികമായി സങ്കടക്കാരെ കാണുന്നതും തരക്കേടാണെന്നു ചിലർ ഇവിടെ പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. ഇതൊന്നും ഇവിടത്തെ കേൾക്കരുതെന്നാണു് എന്റെ അപേക്ഷ. സമയമുള്ളതുപോലെ അങ്ങു് എല്ലാവരുടേയും സങ്കടങ്ങൾ കേൾക്കുകയും മറും ചെയ്തില്ലെങ്കിൽ സങ്കടപരിഹാരമുണ്ടാകയില്ല.

ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു് മേലധികാരികൾ കീഴുദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരെ കു

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ർനമായി ശിക്ഷിയ്ക്കുന്നു എന്നു് ഇവിടെ പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു് കുറ്റം കണ്ടാൽ കർശനമായിതന്നെ ശിക്ഷിക്കണമെന്നാണു്. വാഴ്ച്ചയൊഴിഞ്ഞ മഹാരാജാവു് തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് ഇവിടെയുള്ള അഴിമതികളെ ഇല്ലാതാക്കിയതു് കർശനമായ ശിക്ഷകൊണ്ടാണു്. മേർസി ബഹുജനങ്ങളോടാണു് വേണ്ടതു്, ഒരു വ്യക്തിയോടല്ല അധികം വേണ്ടതു്. കുറ്റമില്ലാതെ ശിക്ഷിയ്ക്കുന്നവരോടും ശവമ്മെണ്ടു് കർശനമായി പെരുമാറണം. കുറ്റങ്ങൾക്കു് അനുരൂപമായതിൽ കവിഞ്ഞ ശിക്ഷ കൊടുക്കണമെന്നല്ല ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്.

കമ്മ്യൂണൽ റിപ്രസൻറേഷൻ പാടില്ല, എന്നാൽ ടെറിട്ടോറിയൽ റിപ്രസൻറേഷൻ വേണം എന്നു ഒരു മെമ്പർ ഇവിടെ പറഞ്ഞു.

മിസ്റ്റർ. കെ. ജി. നായർ —അതു് ഞാൻ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ.—പറഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ലെങ്കിൽ വേണ്ട. കാഴ്ച്ചക്ഷമതക്കു് ഹാനിവരാതേയുള്ള കമ്മ്യണൽ റിപ്രസൻറേഷൻ മാത്രമാണു് ഞങ്ങൾ ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടതു്. അതു് ഇപ്പോൾ കിട്ടുന്നില്ല. തക്കയോഗ്യതയുണ്ടെങ്കിലും ചില സമുദായക്കാർക്കു് അവർ ആ സമുദായക്കാരായതുകൊണ്ടു് ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ കിട്ടാതാകുന്നതാണു് ഇവിടെ അനുഭവം. ആ രീതി പോകണം.

Mr. P. S. Kesavan Nambudiri.—Sir, I am glad to find something new and original in the Budget before us. At this time of distress when the State has committed itself to huge expenditure for the Railway and the Harbour projects we are to co-operate with her in her endeavour to get out of this difficulty. Retrenchments may have to be effected and fresh sources of revenue may have to be explored. I have the least objection for new or additional taxation. In a primitive or barbarous State you may have no tax at all; but in a communistic State you may have to pay everything to the Government. The crucial test to be applied is, whether you derive benefit proportionate to the payment. If you want to enjoy the benefits of the State, necessarily you have to pay for them. Up to this time the Government was committing a fiscal blunder in subjecting the landholders for the whole burden of the State while people with fat incomes from other sources were unjustly left free. At least now, they have realised their mistake and come with the proposal for the levy of income-tax. We give our strong support in the new venture. Though the proposed debenture loan is to be a heavy burden, I hope, the institution of the Sinking Fund might do well to wipe it off in course of time.

Sir, it is also gratifying to note that even in these hard times, the Government, true to the saying that "ശരീരമാദ്യം ഖലു

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ധർമ്മസാധനം" have been liberal in the matters where the health of the people is concerned. The creation of the new Health Department might tend for further improvements in Sanitation, Conservancy and Vaccination. It is also commendable that liberal provisions are made for the anti-malarial operations, the hook-worm campaign and the establishment of a Central Ayurvedic Hospital, for which we have been agitating from long ago. In this connection I would like to make one suggestion, that the Hospital should be started away from the din and dust of the town and importance should be given more to the quantity and quality of the medicine and the efficiency of the physician than to the nicety of the building or other outward paraphernalia.

But, Sir, when I turn to other items in the Budget I find more for disappointment. Perhaps to show a surplus behind, many of the nation-building departments have been starved. From P. W. D. take away the provisions for the College Extension, and the Diwan's quarters, then there is very little left for buildings. For irrigation, the amount has been reduced by 28 thousand and odd from the revised estimate for 1107. Thus nothing can be done for the improved cultivation of land. It was but last year that crops of thousands of paras of paddy area were destroyed by droughts, in the Muriyad Kayal and the Kattur and Karlam padams in my constituency. Many of the poor agriculturists approached the Diwan Peishkar for remission, or at least the postponement of the kist. In his characteristic way, he consoled them "ശരി, കഴിയുന്നതെല്ലാം നോക്കാം" but nothing was done and the whole revenue was collected without the arrear of a single pie. One tenant of those parts writes to me, "ഞങ്ങളുടെ നികുതി യാതൊന്നും ബാക്കിയില്ല. പക്ഷെ പെണ്ണുങ്ങളുടെ കഴുത്തും കാതും പറിക്കേണ്ടിവന്ന എന്നുമാത്രമേയുള്ളൂ." It would have been a very good thing if the Hon'ble Members for Revenue and Engineering put their heads together to find out how the one can enrich the treasury with the co-operation of the other.

Then Sir, the Panchayat Department is most hopelessly neglected. When this Department was separated from Agriculture, and placed under the supervision of a special officer, we cherished the hope that something beneficial might turn up. But we are extremely disappointed. Besides plodding the beaten track, he had no original schemes before him, as was admitted in reply to a question last year. Many of the works are only half-finished. Some of the Panchayatdars submit for the approval of the Registrar a budget estimate which would be quite insufficient for the work to be attended to. They fear that if the amount is larger, it may not be sanctioned. As a result we find many of

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the tanks or roads constructed or repaired by this department are not completed at all. They are miserably maintained too. The amount allotted to the Erava Panchayat for the maintenance of seven roads is Rs. 75, which will hardly be sufficient for one of them alone. When the matter stands thus, is it not a surprise to find the huge reduction of nearly half a lakh of rupees from the revised estimate of last year? Sir, it is this department which concerns the rural population to a very great extent. I have to remark that the Hon'ble Member for Panchayats ought to have made a better case for him before the allotments were made.

Sir, when dealing with General Administration, I had occasion to hear some of the Hon'ble Members attacking communal representation in the services of the State. This has become a vital question and perhaps a bone of contention all over India. Always I stick to the principle that the advanced and the elevated communities should extend their willing hands to those who are depressed or backward and give them all possible opportunities to come up to their own level. What might be despised as communalism in the Hon'ble Members for Ezhuvas or Muslims might be hailed as paragons of sacrifice or magnanimity in the Hon'ble Members for Nellayi or Cheruvirutthy. 'Give them a blank cheque' as Mahatma Gandhi would put it and then you have buried communalism in the country.

Sir, before I conclude I like to make a few general observations on some of the items tabooed to us. Year to year, large accumulations are made in the Devaswam Department and they lie idle for the benefit of none.

President.—Devaswam is entirely outside the cognizance of this Council.

Mr. P. S. Kesavan Nambudiri.—Only a passing observation, Sir, as in the case of the Harbour and the Railway.

President.—You can discuss the policy in regard to Harbour and Railway but not Devaswam.

Mr. P. S. Kesavan Nambudiri.—Sir, when our fellow citizens in British India are at the gate of the citadel of Swaraj, it is no consolation for us that we have recently gained some petty privileges as the right to elect the Deputy President or to ask supplementary questions by other members. I also fully agree with those Hon'ble Members who have on the floor of this House vehemently protested against the policy of the Government in not taking the people into their confidence in matters like the Railway and the Harbour projects. At this rate we have a long way to march and it will take centuries to reach the goal. That may be an impossible demand made upon our

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patience. I may also sound a note of warning that unless you allow yourself to the process of bending you may break. Let the recent event in our neighbouring State of Siam be an eye-opener to all Ruling Princes not excluding our benign State.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. മുഹമ്മദ് സീതി.—ഈ ജനപ്രതിനിധി സഭയുടെ അഭിലാഷങ്ങളെ ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് ആദരിയ്ക്കുകയും, അവരുടെ നിർദ്ദേശങ്ങളനുസരിച്ചു് പ്രവർത്തിയ്ക്കുവാനുള്ള സന്നദ്ധതയെ വെളിപ്പെടുത്തുകയും ചെയ്തതിനു് ഞാൻ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനെ ഹൃദയപൂർവ്വമായി അഭിനന്ദിയ്ക്കുന്നു. ക്ഷാമകാലത്തു് ജനങ്ങളുടെ ക്ലേശപരിഹാരത്തിനുവേണ്ടി ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് എന്തെങ്കിലും ചെയ്യണമെന്നു് കഴിഞ്ഞ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് യോഗത്തിൽ ജനപ്രതിനിധികൾ ചെയ്ത മുറവിളിയെ നല്ലവണ്ണം അറിഞ്ഞു് അതിനുവേണ്ട പരിഹാര മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യുവാൻ ശ്രമിയ്ക്കുകയും, കുറി സംബന്ധമായ വിഷയങ്ങളിൽ ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് ഒരു പരിഹാരമാർഗ്ഗം ചെയ്യുവാനുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശത്തോടുകൂടി അതിലേയ്ക്കു ഒരു പ്രത്യേക കമ്മിറ്റിയെ നിയമിയ്ക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുകയുണ്ടായി. ആ കമ്മിറ്റിയുടെ റിപ്പോർട്ടിനെ ഗസറ്റിൽ പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തുകയും ജനങ്ങളുടെയിടയിൽ ഒരു പ്രത്യാശ ഉണ്ടാക്കുകയും ചെയ്തതിനു് ഞാൻ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനെ അഭിനന്ദിയ്ക്കുന്നു. കൂടാതെ ഈ നിയമസഭയുടെ അധികാരങ്ങൾ വർദ്ധിപ്പിയ്ക്കുകയും എല്ലാ അംഗങ്ങൾക്കും ഉപചോദ്യങ്ങൾ ചോദിയ്ക്കുവാനും ഉപാദ്ധ്യക്ഷനെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കുവാനും ഉള്ള അധികാരം നല്കുകയും ചെയ്തതിനു് ഗവൺമെണ്ടിന്റെ ഉൽപതിഷ്ണുതയേയും ഞാൻ ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ അഭിനന്ദിയ്ക്കുന്നു. ഗവൺമെണ്ടിൽനിന്നു ജനപ്രതിനിധികളുടെ മുറവിളിയ്ക്കു് എന്തെങ്കിലും ഒരു സമാധാനമുണ്ടാകുമെന്നുള്ള പ്രത്യാശ രാജ്യമൊട്ടുക്കും പരന്നിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു സന്ദർഭമാണിതു്, ആ പ്രത്യാശതന്നെയാണു് ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ ചില അപേക്ഷകൾ ചെയ്യുവാൻ എന്നെ പ്രേരിപ്പിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്. എന്നാൽ നിയമസഭയുടെ ഭാവിയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും, നാട്ടിലുള്ള പൌരാവലിയുടെ രാഷ്ട്രീയാവശ്യങ്ങളുടെ നിയന്ത്രണത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും ഉള്ള പ്രശ്നങ്ങളെ അടിസ്ഥാനപ്പെടുത്തിക്കൊണ്ടു് എന്റെ മാന്യ സ്നേഹിതൻ പള്ളുരുത്തി മെമ്പർ ഇവിടെ ചെയ്ത പ്രസംഗത്തിനു് ഒരു മറുപടി പറയാതിരിയ്ക്കുന്നതു് കൃതഘ്നോപമാകമെന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിയ്ക്കുന്നു.

എന്റെ മാന്യ സ്നേഹിതൻ പള്ളുരുത്തി മെമ്പരുടെ രാഷ്ട്രീയ പ്രജ്ഞയെ (constitutional sense) സാമാന്യത്തിലധികം വർണ്ണപ്പെടുത്താവുന്ന വിധത്തിലുള്ള അവശത ഈ കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തിലെങ്കിലും ഉള്ളതായി എനിയ്ക്കു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. ഈ കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തിൽ രാജാവും മെജാർട്ടിയും മൈനാർട്ടിയും തമ്മിൽ ഉരസൽ ഉള്ളതായി ഞാനറിഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ല. ആ സ്ഥിതിയ്ക്കു് ഈ കാ

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ത്തിൽ പ്രശാന്തമായിരിയ്ക്കുന്ന ഈ നാട്ടിൽ ഇങ്ങനെ വെറുതെ "സ്പർദ്ധത്തിലെ കട്ടുറുമ്പു"" ജാതിയിലുള്ള അപകടവാദങ്ങളൊന്നും കൊണ്ടുവരേണ്ട ആവശ്യമുണ്ടെന്നു എനിയ്ക്കു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. പ്രത്യേകനിയോജകമണ്ഡല ഏർപ്പാടു് രാജ്യഭരണമീമാംസയ്ക്കു വിപരീതമായ പ്രകൃതിയുടെ ഒരു വികൃതിയാണെന്നതു് എന്റെ മാന്യസ്നേഹിതൻ ഇവിടെ പറഞ്ഞതു്. പ്രത്യേകനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിലുള്ളവർക്കു് സാമാന്യനിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ വോട്ടുചെയ്യുവാനുള്ള അവകാശം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതാണു് അദ്ദേഹം പറയുന്ന ആക്ഷേപം. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ഈ അഭിപ്രായം എത്രയും ഭീമമായ ഒരു അബദ്ധമാണെന്നു് എനിയ്ക്കു് പറയാതിരിയ്ക്കുവാൻ തരമില്ല പ്രത്യേകനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള സാമാന്യമായ ആക്ഷേപം പൊതുനിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ പ്രതിനിധികളെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കുന്ന കാര്യത്തിൽ പ്രത്യേകനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിലെ വോട്ടർമാർക്കു പങ്കില്ലെന്നും, അവർ പൊതുവായ രാജ്യഭരണകാര്യങ്ങളിൽ മാറിനില്ക്കുകയാണു ചെയ്യുന്നതെന്നുമുള്ളതാണു്. ഈ ദോഷമില്ലാതാക്കുവാനാണു് നമ്മുടെ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു് ശ്രമിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ന്യൂനപക്ഷസമുദായക്കാരുടെ സംഖ്യാബലം പോരാത്തതുകൊണ്ടും, മറ്റു തരത്തിലുള്ള അവരുടെ ദൌർബ്ബല്യം കൊണ്ടും അവരുടെ പ്രതിനിധികൾക്കു് പൊതുനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നാൽ വിജയം കിട്ടുകയില്ല എന്നുള്ള ഒരു ദോഷമുണ്ടു്. അതിനെ പരിഹരിയ്ക്കുവാനാണു് പ്രത്യേകനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ നിശ്ചയിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതു്. പൊതുനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽ ഒരു കയ്യും ഇല്ലാതെവരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് ന്യൂനപക്ഷ സമുദായക്കാരുടെ രാഷ്ട്രീയദൃഷ്ടി ഇടുങ്ങിപോകാതിരിക്കുവാനാണു് അവർക്കു് ആ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിലും വോട്ടവകാശം നല്കിയിരിക്കുന്നതു്. ഈ സമ്പ്രദായം അനുസരിയ്ക്കുന്നതിൽ നാം സിലോണിലെ ഭരണയന്ത്രത്തെ പിന്തുടരുകമാത്രമാണു് ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതു്. അവർ പ്രത്യേകനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾക്കും പൊതുനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽ വോട്ടു ചെയ്യുവാൻ അവകാശം കൊടുത്തിരുന്നു.

മിസ്റ്റർ ജോസ്സു് ചാക്കാമറ്റം.—സിലോണിൽ ഇപ്പോഴും ഈ സമ്പ്രദായം നടപ്പുണ്ടോ എന്നറിഞ്ഞാൽ കൊള്ളാം.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. മുഹമ്മദു് സീതി.—ഞാൻ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ സ്ഥിതിയെപ്പറ്റിയല്ല പറഞ്ഞതു്. അതിനെക്കുറിച്ചു് എന്റെ മാന്യസ്നേഹിതൻതന്നെ അന്വേഷിയ്ക്കണമെന്നപേക്ഷിയ്ക്കുന്നു.

സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം വേണമെന്നുള്ള കാര്യം ഓരോരുത്തക്കും വളരെ വിഷമംകൂടാതെതന്നെ മനസ്സിലാക്കുവാൻ സാധിയ്ക്കും. ഞാൻ ആരേയും ആക്ഷേപിയ്ക്കുകയല്ല. ഒരിയ്ക്കൽ ദിവാൻജിയുടെ ആഫീസിൽ ഞാൻ പോയപ്പോൾ എന്റെ മാന്യസ്നേ

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ഹിതൻ ഉൾപ്പടെ ഏതാനും സ്നേഹിതന്മാർ ലത്തീൻകൃസ്ത്യാനികളും ന്യൂനപക്ഷക്കാരാണെന്നും, ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ അവർക്ക് പ്രത്യേക പ്രാതിനിധ്യം സിദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടില്ലെന്നും അവലാതിപ്പെട്ടുകൊണ്ടു ഒരു ഡെപ്യൂട്ടേഷനായി അവിടെ വന്നിട്ടുള്ളതായിരുന്നു.

മിസ്റ്റർ ജോർജ്ജ് ചകാമറി—നമ്മുടെ മാന്യസ്നേഹിതൻ പോയിരുന്നതെന്തിനാണെന്നറിഞ്ഞാൽ കൊള്ളാം.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. മുഹമ്മദ് സീതി.—ഞാൻ പോയിരുന്നതു് എന്റെ സ്നേഹിതന്റെ സമുദായക്കാർ കൂടി ഉൾപ്പെട്ട ബോട്ടുടമസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ചില ആവലാതികളും ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനെ ധരിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ മാത്രമായിരുന്നു.

അവനവനെ സംബന്ധിയ്ക്കുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങൾ വരുമ്പോൾ സമുദായത്തിനുള്ളിൽ സമുദായം ഉണ്ടെന്നുള്ള ഭാവന വരുന്നുവെന്നു കാണിയ്ക്കുവാനാണു് ഈ സംഗതിയെപ്പറ്റി ഇത്രയും പറഞ്ഞതു്. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെനിലയിൽ ന്യൂനപക്ഷക്കാർക്ക് ദോഷമൊന്നും വരാത്തവിധത്തിൽ എന്തെങ്കിലും പ്രവൃത്തിയ്ക്കണം. ന്യൂനപക്ഷക്കാർ ഒരു നിർഭാഗ്യം പിടിച്ച കൂട്ടരാണു്. ന്യൂനപക്ഷക്കാർതന്നെ ഒരു "അനാമലി" (വികൃതി)യാണു്. ഈ മാതിരി അസാധാരണ നിലകളെ anomalies പരിഹരിയ്ക്കുവാൻ അസാധാരണ മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളും anomalous practices തന്നെ വേണ്ടിവരും. അതു് പ്രമാണത്തിൽ ദോഷമാണെങ്കിലും പ്രയോഗത്തിൽ അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഒരു ദോഷവുമില്ല. വെറുതെ ഇല്ലാത്ത സ്വപ്നങ്ങൾ കണ്ടുകൊണ്ടു് ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ നിലയ്ക്കു് മാറ്റങ്ങൾ വരുത്തി നാശങ്ങൾ ഒന്നും ഉണ്ടാക്കിവയ്ക്കേണ്ടാ. ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് ഇതിൽ ഒട്ടും ഭയപ്പെടേണ്ടതില്ല. ഈ കൌൺസിലിൽ പ്രതേകനിയോജകമണ്ഡല പ്രതിനിധികളെകൊണ്ടു് യാതൊരു ഉപദ്രവുമുണ്ടായിട്ടില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടു് എന്റെ മാന്യസ്നേഹിതന്മാർ ആരും അവരുടെ വിശാലമായ ആദർശങ്ങളിൽ ആ പ്രതിനിധികൾ കല്ലേറിയുമെന്നു ഭയപ്പെടേണ്ടതില്ല. ന്യൂനസമുദായ പ്രതിനിധികൾ അവരുടെ വിനീതമായ നിലയിൽ ഗുണമല്ലാതെ ദോഷമൊന്നും ചെയ്യുന്നില്ല. ന്യൂനപക്ഷക്കാരുടെ സംഖ്യാബലത്തിന്റെ ബോരായ്കകൊണ്ടു് അവർക്കു പറയാനുള്ള സംഗതികൾ പറയുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാത്തവിധത്തിൽ രാഷ്ട്രീയനിലയെ ആക്കിത്തീർക്കരുതെന്നപേക്ഷിയ്ക്കുന്നു. നമ്മുടെ യുവ്വദമെമ്പർ ഇപ്പോൾ എവിടെ? അദ്ദേഹം ഒരവസരത്തിൽ ഈ കൌൺസിലിന്റെ അവകാശങ്ങൾക്കുവേണ്ടി എത്രയോ വാദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതാണു്. യോഗ്യനായ അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു് ഒരു പൊതുനിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ നിന്നു ഒരു സ്ഥാനം സമ്പാദിക്കുവാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള അനുഭവങ്ങൾ ഉള്ളപ്പോൾ ഈ നിസ്സാരമായ വാദങ്ങൾ പറയുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് കാര്യമൊന്നുമില്ല. സമുദായങ്ങളുടെ നിലയ്ക്കു് ഇന്നാരത്ത സമ്പ്രദായം അവർക്കു അത്യാവശ്യമാണു്; രാഷ്ട്ര

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ത്തിന്റെ നിലയ്ക്കും അതു് ആവശ്യമാണു്. യൂറോപ്യൻ രാജ്യങ്ങളിലും അമേരിക്ക മുതലായ രാജ്യങ്ങളിലും ന്യൂനസമുദായങ്ങളുടെ പ്രതിനിധിത്തെപ്പറ്റി ബലമായി വാദിച്ചുവരുന്ന രാഷ്ട്രീയ ചിന്തകന്മാരായ പല മാന്യന്മാരേയും കാണുന്നുണ്ടു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് ഇന്നത്തെ നിലയെക്കുറിച്ചു് ഒരുവിധത്തിലും ഭയപ്പെടേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ല. ഇന്നത്തെ നിലയ്ക്കു് വല്ല മാറ്റവും വരുത്തണമെന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ—അതിനു് ആവശ്യമേയില്ല—അതു് ന്യൂനപക്ഷ സമുദായക്കാരുടെ പൂർണ്ണമായ സമ്മതത്തോടുകൂടിയായിരിക്കണം എന്നുമാത്രമേ എനിയ്ക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളു.

ഇനി ഒരു സംഗതികൂടി പറയുവാനുണ്ടു്. ഈക്ഷാമകാലത്തു് ജനങ്ങളനുഭവിച്ചുവരുന്ന കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകൾക്കും പണമില്ലാത്ത വിഷമതകൾക്കും പരിഹാരമുണ്ടാക്കിക്കൊടുക്കണം. തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മയെപ്പറ്റി ഈഴവമെമ്പർ ഇവിടെ പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. പണമില്ലാതെ കൃഷീവലന്മാർ പെടുന്ന പാടു് നാം ഇന്നും കണ്ടുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുകയാണല്ലൊ ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. ഈ വക വിഷമങ്ങളിൽ ജനങ്ങളെ സഹായിപ്പാൻവേണ്ടിയാണു് പരസ്പരസഹായസംഘങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ സ്ഥാപിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. എന്നാൽ അതുകൊണ്ടൊന്നും പണത്തിന്റെ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടു തീരുന്നില്ല. ഹണ്ടിക കച്ചവടക്കാരാണു് അവരെ ഏറ്റവും കുഴക്കുന്നതു്. വ്യവഹാരങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടും മറ്റും ജനങ്ങൾ വളരെ കുഴങ്ങിയാണിരിക്കുന്നതു്. വലിയ കടക്കാരായ ഇവരെ കോടതിമൂലം അപകടത്തിൽ നിന്നും കരകേറ്റി അവരുടെ കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകളെ തീർക്കുവാൻ എന്തെങ്കിലും ഒരേർപ്പാടു ചെയ്യുന്നതായാൽ അതു അവർക്കു് വലിയ രക്ഷയായിരിക്കും. വാങ്ങിയ പണം കൊടുക്കാതിരിക്കുവാനുള്ള ഏർപ്പാടൊന്നും ചെയ്യണമെന്നു ഞാൻ പറയുന്നില്ല. അവർക്കു വല്ല ഭൂമിയോ മറ്റോ ഉണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതു വിറ്റും കടം വീട്ടുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാതാണിരിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്. പണം കിട്ടുവാനുള്ളവനു ഒരിഞ്ചു സ്ഥലംപോലും എടുക്കുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലെന്നു വരുന്നു. ഒരേക്കർ വസ്തു വിറ്റാൽ തീർക്കാവുന്ന കടം ഇപ്പോൾ നൂറു ഏക്കർ വിൽക്കുവാനൊരുങ്ങിയാലും തീർക്കാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നില്ലെന്നു വന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഭൂമി പണയത്തിൽപിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു തല്ക്കാലം കുറെക്കാലത്തേക്കു പണം കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനു് ഒരു ലാൻഡു് മോർട്ട്ഗേജ് ബാങ്കു തുടങ്ങുകയാണു വേണ്ടതു്. അതിലേക്കുള്ള പണം എവിടെ? എന്നു ചോദിച്ചാൽ ദേവസ്വത്തിൽനിന്നോ, അമ്മത്തമ്പുരാൻ കോവിലകത്തുനിന്നോ, കെട്ടിയിരിപ്പുള്ള ഫണ്ടിൽ നിന്നോ, ഇപ്പോൾ വായ്പവാങ്ങുവാൻപോകുന്ന കടംവായ്പയിൽനിന്നോ ഏതാനും ലക്ഷം ഉറുപ്പിക എടുത്തു ബാങ്കു തുടങ്ങണം.

കൃഷിയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ ഭൂമികളിൽ പ്രത്യേക പ്രചരണവേലകൾ നടത്തുവാൻ ഫ,@ oo

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രൂപായാണ ചെലവിടുന്നതു". കൂടുതൽ സംഖ്യ ഈ ഇനത്തിൽ ചിലവുചെയ്യേണ്ടതാണു. കൃഷിയുടെ നവീനസിദ്ധാന്തങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ചു പ്രചരണവേല ചെയ്യേണ്ടതു" അവശ്യമാകുന്നു. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ കൃഷി ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകൊണ്ടു പ്രയോജനമില്ലെന്നു പറയുന്നതിൽ വളരെ വാസ്തവമുണ്ടു". ആ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിൽ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ ഉണ്ടോ എന്നുള്ള കാര്യത്തെപ്പറ്റിയും അവരിൽ ചിലർ ഒഴിച്ചുകൂടാത്ത വിധത്തിൽ അവരിൽ ആര് ആലസ്യവും മാന്ദ്യവും" കാണുന്നുണ്ടു. അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥമെമ്പർമാർ, പഞ്ചായത്തുകാർ, മുനിസിപ്പാലിറ്റി അംഗങ്ങൾ എന്നിവർ രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ പൊതുനന്മക്കുവേണ്ടി പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുവാൻ ഒരുങ്ങിയിരിക്കെ കൃഷിഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകാർ അവരുമായി യോജിച്ചു കൃഷിക്കാരുള്ള സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽപോയി യോഗങ്ങൾ വിളിച്ചുകൂട്ടി കൃഷിയുടെ അഭിവൃദ്ധിയുടെ പ്രമാണങ്ങളെയും കൃഷിവിലന്മാരെ പറഞ്ഞു മനസ്സിലാക്കേണ്ടതാണു". ഇങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്യുന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ കൃഷി ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിലെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരെക്കൊണ്ടു" ഒരു പരിഷ്കാരവും ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതല്ല. ഇങ്ങിനെ പരിഷ്കാരമുണ്ടാക്കിയില്ലെങ്കിൽ ആ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകൊണ്ടു യാതൊരു പ്രയോജനവുമില്ലെന്നുവരും. തെങ്ങുകൃഷി പരീക്ഷണത്തിനു് വൈറ്റിലയിൽ ഒരു ഫാറം ഏർപ്പെടുത്തീട്ടുണ്ടു". അതിൽ ഇപ്പോൾ കൂടുതൽ ചിലവുള്ളതായിട്ടാണു കാണുന്നതു". ൧,൦൦൦ രൂ. ചിലവും ൧,൫൦൦ രൂ. വരവും ഉള്ളതായി കാണുന്നു. മേലാലെങ്കിലും കൃഷിവകുപ്പിലെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ കൃഷിവിലന്മാർപാർക്കുന്ന സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ പോയി പൊതുയോഗങ്ങൾ വിളിച്ചുകൂട്ടി പ്രസംഗങ്ങൾ നടത്തി പരിഷ്കൃത കൃഷിസമ്പ്രദായം നാട്ടാരെ പ്രചരിപ്പിക്കണം. കൊച്ചി രാജ്യം ഒരു വലിയ ഭൂഖണ്ഡമൊന്നുമല്ല. ഇതു് എളുപ്പത്തിൽ ഇവിടെനടത്താവുന്നതേയുള്ളു. ഇങ്ങിനെ വേണ്ടുന്ന പ്രചരണവേലകൾ ഇവിടെ ചെയ്യുന്നതിൽ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു് കുറെകൂടി ശ്രദ്ധിക്കണം.

ഹാർബർ, റെയിൽവെ എന്നിങ്ങനെ സംഗതികളിൽ അവയെസംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള കരാറുകളിലും നിബന്ധനകളിലും കൂടുതലായ പരിഷ്കാരങ്ങൾ വരുത്തുവാൻ തരമുണ്ടോ എന്നു നോക്കേണ്ടതാണു. അതിനുംപുറമെ ഹാർബറിൽനിന്നും കൂടുതലായ ആദായം നാട്ടുകാക്കു" കിട്ടുന്നതിനുള്ള വഴികൾ നോക്കണം എന്നുള്ള അഭിപ്രായത്തെ ഞാൻ പിന്താങ്ങുന്നു.

വാണിജ്യത്തിന്റെയും വ്യവസായങ്ങളുടേയും അഭിവൃദ്ധിക്കുവേണ്ടി പ്രത്യേക ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥമണ്ഡലമോ വകുപ്പോ സൃഷ്ടിച്ചു് ആ കാര്യത്തിലും ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു് ശ്രദ്ധ പതിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതാണു്.

നികുതികൊടുത്തു വലഞ്ഞു കഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന അവർക്കു്—കൃഷിക്കാർക്കു്—എന്തെങ്കിലും ഒരു പരിഹാരം ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു് ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കേണ്ടതാണു്. കൃഷിയിൽനിന്നുള്ള വരവു് സ്ഥിരമായി തി

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ന്നിരിക്കുന്ന സ്ഥിതിക്കു നികുതിയും ഇപ്പോഴുള്ളതിൽ കൂടാത്ത നിലയിൽ സ്ഥിരപ്പെടുത്തേണ്ടതാണു്. അങ്ങിനെചെയ്താൽമാത്രമേ കൃഷിക്കാക്കു് മേലാൽ കഷ്ടിച്ചു ജീവിക്കുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയുള്ളു, ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ വരവു ചുരുങ്ങിയാണു് വരുന്നതു്. ക്രമേണ അതു് ക്ഷയിച്ചുപോകുന്നതുമാണു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഇനിയും നികുതി കൂട്ടിയാൽ കൃഷീവലന്മാർ കഷ്ടപ്പെടും. അതുകൊണ്ടു് നികുതി ഏതു വിധവും ശാശ്വതമാക്കിത്തീർക്കണം.

പിന്നെ വ്യസനകരമായ ഒരു സംഗതി പറവാനുള്ളതു്, മദ്യവകുപ്പിൽനിന്നു് ര ൪,൦ ൦ ൦ ക. കുടിശലുണ്ടാകുമെന്നു ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ കാണുന്നതാണു്. എന്നാൽ ഇതു ജനങ്ങളെ നശിപ്പിക്കുന്ന ഒരാദായ മാർഗ്ഗമായതുകൊണ്ടു് ഇതിനെ തടയണമെന്നു് ഞാൻ അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനു ധൈര്യമുള്ള പക്ഷം പൂർണ്ണമായ മദ്യവർജ്ജന നയത്തെ സ്വീകരിക്കുകയാണു് വേണ്ടതു്. അവർ നെല്ലാറയിൽ പരീക്ഷണാർത്ഥമായി ഇതു സ്വീകരിച്ചതിൽ ഞാൻ അവരെ അഭിനന്ദിക്കുന്നു. ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ നിഷ്കളങ്കതയെ കാണിക്കുവാൻ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു് നടത്തുന്ന പൊതുവിരുന്നുകളിൽ മദ്യം കൊടുക്കുന്ന സമ്പ്രദായം നിറുത്തണമെന്നുള്ള എന്റെ ഉപക്ഷേപത്തിലെ ശുപാർശയെ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു് സ്വീകരിക്കുമെന്നു വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. അതു് ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ നിഷ്കളങ്ക ഭരണത്തിനും പരിശുദ്ധ നയത്തിനും ഏറ്റവും യോജിച്ചതായിരിക്കും. അതു പെരുമാവലിക്കും ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനും ഒരുപോലെ ഒരു ഉത്തമ മാതൃകയുമായിരിക്കും. ഇത്രയും പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടു് ഞാൻ വിരമിക്കുന്നു.

മിസ്റ്റർ. ടി. കെ. നായർ.—ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ര കൊല്ലമായി ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ സംസാരിയ്ക്കുവാൻ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം കിട്ടിയിട്ടുള്ള എനിയ്ക്കു് ഇപ്പോൾ യാതൊന്നും പറയുവാൻ തോന്നുന്നില്ല. സമ്പളം കുറവുചെയ്യുന്ന കാര്യമാണതിന്റെ കാരണം. ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥ സാമാജികന്മാരുടെ എന്നപോലെ അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥ സാമാജികന്മാരുടേയും ഹൃദയം ഭേദിക്കുന്ന ഒന്നാണെല്ലോ അതു്. എന്നെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം അതിനൊരു പ്രത്യേകതയുമുണ്ടു്. ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു് സമ്പളം കുറയ്ക്കണമെന്നുദ്ദേശിച്ചാലും ഇല്ലെങ്കിലും സാധുക്കളുടെ ശകാരത്തിനു് ഞാൻ പാത്രമാകേണ്ടതായിട്ടാണിരിയ്ക്കുന്നതു". സമ്പളം കുറക്കണമെന്നതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ഞാൻ ഒരു പ്രമേയം അവതരിപ്പിയ്ക്കുകയും സംഗതിവശാൽ അതു പാസാക്കുകയുമുണ്ടായി. ഭാഗ്യവശാലോ നിർഭാഗ്യവശാലോ ആ പ്രമേയമനുസരിച്ചു് ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനു ചിലതു പ്രവൃത്തിക്കേണ്ടതായും വന്നു. "കാക്ക ഇരിയ്ക്കുക, പനമ്പഴം വീഴുക" എന്നൊരു ന്യായമുണ്ടു്. അതുപോലെയാണിതും പറഞ്ഞിയതു്. പക്ഷെ ഉദ്ദേശം പിഴച്ചുപോയി എന്നേ ഉള്ളു. ഞാൻ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചി

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ച്ച പ്രമേയത്തിൽ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചിരുന്നത് ൧൦൦ രൂപയിൽ കൂടുതൽ
ശമ്പളമുള്ളവരെമാത്രം ഇതു ബാധിച്ചാൽ മതിയെന്നായിരുന്നു.
ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ശമ്പളക്കുറവാകട്ടെ, ൧൦൦ രൂപയിൽ കൂടുതൽ ശ
മ്പളം വാങ്ങുന്നവരേക്കാൾ അധികം അതിൽ കുറഞ്ഞ ശമ്പളം വാ
ങ്ങുന്നവരേയാണ് ബാധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു". ഈ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനെ നല്ല
പോലെ പാഠിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള എനിക്ക് ഇങ്ങിനെ വന്നതിൽ അത്ഭുതം
തോന്നുന്നില്ല. താഴ്ന്ന ശമ്പളക്കാർക്ക് കൂടുതൽ നഷ്ടവും ഉയർന്ന
ശമ്പളക്കാർക്ക് അതിയായ ലാഭവും ഉണ്ടാകത്തക്കവണ്ണമേ ഗവ
മ്മെണ്ടു് പ്രവൃത്തിക്കാറുള്ളുവെന്നുള്ളതു് അനുഭവസിദ്ധമാണു്.
ഞാൻ ഗ്രാറ്റുവിറ്റിയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ഒരു പ്രമേയം ഇവിടെ
അവതരിപ്പിയ്ക്കുവാൻ പോകുന്നുണ്ടു്. അതിന്റെ ഗുണവും ഉയർന്ന
ശമ്പളക്കാർക്കു തന്നെയായേയ്ക്കുമോ എന്നുള്ളതു് പരീക്ഷിച്ചു വേ
ണം അറിയാൻ. സാധുക്കളുടെ ഗുണത്തെ ലക്ഷ്യമാക്കി അവതരി
പ്പിക്കപ്പെട്ടതും ഈ സഭ സ്വീകരിച്ചതുമായ എന്റെ മറ്റൊരു
പ്രമേയത്തിന്റെ യഥാർത്ഥമായ സൽഫലം വലിയ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥ
ന്മാരല്ല അനുഭവിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്? എന്റെ ഈ അഭിപ്രായം ഉയർന്ന ഉ
ദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരെ പരിഭവിപ്പിക്കയില്ലെന്നു വിശ്വസിയ്ക്കുന്നു. അ
സംഖ്യം സാധുക്കളെ ബാധിയ്ക്കുന്ന ഒന്നാണു് ഞാൻ കൊണ്ടുവരു
വാനുദ്ദേശിയ്ക്കുന്ന മേൽപറഞ്ഞ പ്രമേയം. അതിന്റെ ഫലമെ
ങ്കിലും എന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശത്തിനു വിപരീതമാകരുതെന്നു് അധികാര
പ്പെട്ടവരെ അനുസ്മരിപ്പിയ്ക്കാൻ വേണ്ടിയാണു്, അപ്രകൃതമായിട്ടാ
ണെങ്കിലും, ഇതവിടെ പ്രസ്താവിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്. ആദായ നികുതിയെ
സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ഫിനാൻസു് കമ്മിറ്റിയുടെ റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ പറഞ്ഞി
ട്ടുണ്ടു്. അവരുടെ റിപ്പോർട്ടിനെ വിലവച്ചുകൊണ്ടാണു് ഇപ്പ
കാരം ആദായ നികുതി ചുമത്തിയിരിയ്ക്കുന്നതു് എന്നാണു് ഗവ
മ്മെണ്ടു് പറയുന്നതു്. ശരിതന്നെയാണതു്. ശമ്പളം കുറവുചെ
യ്യേണ്ടുന്ന കാര്യത്തെപറ്റി ആ കമ്മിറ്റിയുടെ അഭിപ്രായമെന്താ
യിരുന്നു എന്നാണു് ഞാൻ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനോടു് ചോദിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്?
നൂറു രൂപയിൽ കുറഞ്ഞശമ്പളമുള്ളവരെ ശമ്പളക്കുറവുകൊണ്ടു്
ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടിയ്ക്കേണമെന്നു് ആ കമ്മിറ്റി മെമ്പർമാരിലാരെങ്കിലും
അഭിപ്രായപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടോ? ഇല്ലതന്നെ. കൂടുതൽ ശമ്പളക്കാരുടെ
കാര്യമേ അവർ അതിലുൾപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളു നേരെ മറിച്ചു്, നൂറു
രൂപയിൽ താഴെ ശമ്പളം വാങ്ങുന്നവരുടെ ശമ്പളം വർദ്ധിപ്പി
യ്ക്കണമെന്നാണു് അവരുടെ അഭിമതം. ഇതിൽ അവർക്കു് അഭിപ്രായ
വ്യത്യാസമില്ലതാനും. എന്നിട്ടും ആദായ നികുതി കാര്യത്തിൽ
ഫിനാൻസു് കമ്മിറ്റി റിപ്പോർട്ടിനെ ശരണം പ്രാപിയ്ക്കുന്ന ഗവ
മ്മെണ്ടു് ചെയ്യുന്നതെന്താണെന്നു നോക്കുക! ഇതാണു് ഉയർന്ന ശ
മ്പളക്കാരുടെ നന്മയാണു് ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ലക്ഷ്യമെന്നു് ഞാൻ
പറഞ്ഞതിന്റെ രഹസ്യം. ൧൦൦ രൂപായിൽ താഴെയുള്ളവരുടെ

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ശമ്പളത്തിൽകൂടി കുറവു ചെയ്യാൽ മാത്രമേ ഭരണനിർവ്വഹണം സാ
ദ്ധ്യമാകയുള്ളു എന്നു വിചാരിയ്ക്കുന്നുണ്ടായിരിയ്ക്കുമോ നമ്മുടെ ഗ
വമ്മെണ്ടു? ഉണ്ടെന്നു പറയാൻ ഞാൻ ധൈര്യപ്പെടുകയില്ല. എ
ന്തുകൊണ്ടെന്നാൽ, സാധുദ്രോഹം കൂടാതെ ഭരണകാര്യം നിർവ്വഹി
യ്ക്കുന്നതിനു പ്രാപ്തിയില്ലാത്തതെന്നു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനെ അപവദി
യ്ക്കലായിരിയ്ക്കും അതിന്റെ ഫലം. നൊമ്പ്രാം അതിനു തു
നിയുന്നില്ല. എന്നാൽ മറെന്തായാവാം? ശമ്പളക്കുറവു് നടപ്പിൽ
വരുത്തണമെങ്കിൽ നാല്പതുരൂപികയിൽ നിന്നുതന്നെ തുടങ്ങണ
മെന്നു് രാജ്യമീമാംസയോ ധനശാസ്ത്രതത്വങ്ങളോ അവരെ ഉ
പദേശിയ്ക്കുന്നുണ്ടാകുമോ? ഉണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ശമ്പളത്തിൽ കുറവു ചെയ്യു
കയേ വേണ്ടതില്ല എന്നാണു് എനിയ്ക്കു പറയാനുള്ളതു്. ഈ രാജ്യ
ത്തിലെ അവസ്ഥയ്ക്കു ഏറ്റവും കൂടുതൽ ശമ്പളം നൂറു രൂപ
മതിയെന്നു ഞങ്ങൾ പലതവണയും ഇവിടെ മുറവിളി കൂട്ടിയിട്ടു
ണ്ടു്. അതിൽ ഫസ്റ്റ് ക്ലാസ് വീതം കുറവു ചെയ്യാൽ തന്നെയും
അതു അധികമാകയില്ല. പ്രതിമാസം നൂറു രൂപ മാത്രമേ ഒ
രാൾക്കു് ശമ്പളമായി കിട്ടുവാൻ പാടുള്ളു എന്നുള്ള ഏക ഉദ്ദേശ
മാണു് ഞങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളതു്. അതിൽ മേല്പറഞ്ഞ കുറവു വരുത്തി
യാൽ കൂടി അവർക്കു് കിട്ടുന്ന ശമ്പളം എത്രയാണെന്നു നോക്കണം!
ഇങ്ങിനെയായാൽകൂടിയും ശമ്പളക്കുറവു് അവരെ ബാധിയ്ക്കുകയി
ല്ലെന്നു കാണാവുന്നതല്ലേ? (ചിരി) ചിരിച്ചു്, നിസ്സാരമാക്കി ത
ള്ളുവാനുള്ള ഒരു കാര്യമല്ല ഇതു്. ശമ്പളം കുറവു ചെയ്യുന്നതു് അ
ക്കം ഗണകരമല്ല. നമ്മുടെ ഉയർന്ന ശമ്പളക്കാരുടെ വിഷയത്തിൽ
മേൽപറഞ്ഞതതപം നേരെമറിച്ചാണെന്നു് കണ്ണുള്ളവർക്കു കാണ്മാൻ
കഴിയും. അതെ, ആദായ നികുതി നടപ്പിലായാൽ ശമ്പളക്കുറ
വു് പേരിനുമാത്രമേ അവരെ ബാധിയ്ക്കുകയുള്ളു. ആദായ നികുതി
യ്ക്കു കയ്യിടാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാത്ത താഴ്ന്ന ശമ്പളക്കാരുടെ പണ
സഞ്ചിയിലാണു് അതു് ഇന്നു നല്ലപോലെ കടന്നിരിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്. കൂ
ടുതൽ ശമ്പളക്കാരിലും കുറഞ്ഞ ശമ്പളക്കാരിലും ഒരുപോലെ നി
കുതി ചുമത്തുന്നതു സങ്കടകരമാണു്. കൂടുതൽ ശമ്പളക്കാർക്കു വലി
യ ചിലവു് എന്താണുള്ളതു്. കൂടിവന്നാൽ ഒരു ടിൻ പെട്രോളിന്റെ
ചിലവു മാത്രം. അതിനു് ഒന്നോ രണ്ടോ നാലോ രൂപാ ചിലവു
വരുമായിരിയ്ക്കാം. മറുകായ്ങ്ങളിൽ താഴ്ന്ന ശമ്പളക്കാർ അവ
രിൽനിന്നും വളരെയൊന്നും പിന്നിലല്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടു് അവരുടെ
കായ്ത്തെപ്പറ്റി ബലമായി ആലോചിയ്ക്കണമെന്നു ഞാൻ
കഴിഞ്ഞു അപേക്ഷിയ്ക്കുന്നു. നൂറു രൂപായിൽ താഴ്ന്ന ശമ്പളക്കാ
രെ ഇതിൽനിന്നും ഒഴിവാക്കുക. നിങ്ങൾ നൂറിനും, വ്യാഴം -ം വീതം
ശമ്പളം വാങ്ങി. ഇതുവരെ അനുഭവിച്ചില്ലേ? ഇനി, ഈ ക്ഷാമകാ
ലം അവസാനിയ്ക്കുംവരെയെങ്കിലും അതു വേണ്ടെന്നു വയ്ക്കുന്നതോ?
ദയവുചെയ്തു്, സായിപ്പിനെ മുഖാമുട്ടിക്കാതെ, ശമ്പളത്തോടു്

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കുറയ്ക്കുന്നതു സമ്മതമാണെന്നു സ്വയമായി എഴുതിയയച്ചു് താഴ്ന്ന ശമ്പളക്കാരെ രക്ഷിക്കുവാൻ! ഈ കൂട്ടു് ഈ കക്കടകം മുതല്ലു തന്നെ നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് ഇപ്പോഴെങ്കിലും ചെയ്യണം. ദിവാൻജി പുതിയ ആളാണു്. നമ്മളെല്ലാവരും ഇവിടെ തന്നെ ജനിച്ചു വളർന്നവരും, ഇതു സ്ഥിരപ്പെട്ടുപോയാൽ അനവധികാലം ഇതുവച്ചുകൊണ്ടു് അനുഭവിയ്ക്കേണ്ടവരുമാണു്. ഇതു ഒരിയ്ക്കൽ നടപ്പിൽ വന്നാൽ എടുത്തുകളയുവാനും വളരെ പ്രയാസമായിരിയ്ക്കും. പണത്തിന്റെ മീതെയിരിയ്ക്കുന്ന വലിയ വലിയ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്കു ക്ഷാമമെന്താണെന്നുള്ളതു് അറിയുവാൻതന്നെ വഴിയില്ല. അവരുടെ ബംഗ്ലാവുകളിൽ കാവൽ നില്ക്കുന്ന ശിപായിമാരെ കടന്നു് അതു് അകത്തുചെന്നുവെന്നു വരുന്നതല്ല. പിന്നെ ഉപജീവനാടുകളിലുള്ള ആളുകളെ ക്ഷാമം ബാധിയ്ക്കുന്നുണ്ടോ ഇല്ലയോ എന്നറിയുവാൻ അവിടങ്ങളിലേയ്ക്കു് ഇവരുടെ വരവു് ഒന്നോ രണ്ടോ കൊല്ലം കൂടുമ്പോൾ ഒരിയ്ക്കൽപോലും ഉണ്ടോ എന്നു സംശയമാണു്. ഈ നിലയിൽ, ഉപജീവനാടുകളിലെ ക്ഷാമബാധയുടെ ശക്തി ഇവർ എങ്ങിനെ അറിയും? അതുകൊണ്ടാണു് ക്ഷാമം അധികവും അനുഭവിയ്ക്കുന്നതു് ഉപജീവനാടുകളിലെ ജനങ്ങളാണെന്നു് ഞാൻ പ്രത്യേകം പറയേണ്ടിവന്നിരിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് നൂറു രൂപായിൽ താഴെയുള്ളവരുടെ ശമ്പളത്തിൽ ഒരു പൈപോലും ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നും തൊടരുതെന്നാണു് എനിയ്ക്കു ഗൌരവമായി ഇവിടെ പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്.

ബഡ്ജറിനെപ്പറ്റി പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ, അതിൽ കുറെ വരവുകളും ചിലവുകളും പതിവുപോലെ കൊള്ളിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു് എന്നേ ഉള്ളു. അതു ഓരോ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിലേയ്ക്കും തിരിച്ചിട്ടുമുണ്ടു്. ഒരിടത്തു ഒരു ലക്ഷവും, പിന്നെ ഒരിടത്തു രണ്ടു ലക്ഷവും ഇങ്ങനെയൊക്കെ കാണും. അതിനൊന്നിനും ഒരു കയ്യും കണക്കുമില്ല. ഇതു് ഒരു മാമൂലനുസരിച്ചുള്ള ചടങ്ങു് എന്നുമാത്രമേ ഞാൻ മനസ്സിലാക്കിയിട്ടുള്ളു. കൊല്ലമവസാനിയ്ക്കുമ്പോൾ മാത്രമേ വരവു ചിലവുകളെപ്പറ്റിയ ശരിയായ അറിവു് നമുക്കു കിട്ടുകയുള്ളു. യഥാർത്ഥത്തിനു വിരോധമായി വരവു കുറഞ്ഞും ചിലവു കൂടിയുമാണു് നമ്മുടെ ബഡ്ജറുകൾ തയ്യാറാക്കാറുള്ളതു് എന്നു് ഏതുകൊല്ലത്തിലെ ആയവ്യയക്കണക്കും നമ്മെ ബോദ്ധ്യപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ടു്. പിന്നെ എന്തിനു് അതിൽ ഇപ്പോൾ തലയിടണം? റിട്രെഞ്ചുമെൻറും കൂട്ടും മാത്രമേ ഇതിൽ ഗൌരവമായ വിഷയങ്ങളായി ഞാൻ കാണുന്നുള്ളു. പൊതുജന നന്മയ്ക്കായി ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു ചിലവു ചെയ്യാറുള്ള പണത്തിൽ ചെയ്യുന്ന കുറവിനേയാണു് ഞാൻ റിട്രെഞ്ചുമെൻറു എന്നുപറയുന്നതു്. ഇപ്പറ്റി റിട്രെഞ്ചുമെൻറുള്ള പ്പോൾ താഴ്ന്ന ശമ്പളക്കാരുടെ ശമ്പളമെങ്കിലും കുറവു ചെയ്യാതെ കഴിയ്ക്കുമോ? ഇപ്പോൾ ഞാൻ റിട്രെഞ്ചുമെൻറിനെ അനുവദിയ്ക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നായിരിയ്ക്കും നി

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ങ്ങൾ വിശ്വസിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഞാൻ അതിനു് അനുകൂലിയാണു്. പക്ഷേ, ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ കാണുന്ന സമ്പ്രദായത്തെ അനുകൂലിയ്ക്കാൻ ഞാൻ തയ്യാറല്ല. പ്രധാനമായ റിട്രെഞ്ചുമെൻറുകൾ എവിടെയാണെന്നു നോക്കാം. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ വകുപ്പിൽ അതിനു പ്രയോജനമില്ല. മരാമത്തു വകുപ്പിലുണ്ടോ അതു്? എന്നാൽ നമ്മുടെ ഉൾനാടുകളുടെ ജീവനായ പഞ്ചായത്തിലെ കഥ ഇതൊന്നുമല്ല. പഞ്ചായത്തുകൾക്കു പണം പോരാ പോരാ എന്നു പലതവണയും പറഞ്ഞതിൻറെ ഫലമായി അരലക്ഷം മുതൽ തുടങ്ങി ഇപ്പോൾ മൂന്നുലക്ഷം വരെ എത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ടു്. എന്നാൽ തന്നെ എത്ര പഞ്ചായത്തുകൾക്കു് എത്ര വീതം കൊടുക്കുവാൻ സാധിയ്ക്കും? വളരെ കുറച്ചേ ഓരോ പഞ്ചായത്തിനും കിട്ടുകയുള്ളു. ഇങ്ങിനെ കുറേശ്ശെ കുറേശ്ശെ കൊടുക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് പഞ്ചായത്തുകളിൽനിന്നു് അനവധികാലം കൊണ്ടാണു് വേണ്ടിടത്തോളം റോഡുകൾ നിർമ്മിക്കപ്പെടുന്നതു്. ആ റോഡുകൾ സംരക്ഷണയില്ലായ്കയാൽ ചിലവിട്ട പണത്തോടൊപ്പം നശിച്ചുകൂട്ടത്തിലായിട്ടുമാണിരിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്. ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി ർ കൊല്ലമായി ഞാൻ ഈ കൌൺസിലിൽ വാദിച്ചുതുടങ്ങിയിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഫലമൊന്നുമില്ലെന്നു മാത്രം. അനേകലക്ഷം രൂപാ ചിലവിട്ടു് ഉണ്ടാക്കിയിട്ടുള്ള സർക്കാർ റോഡുകൾക്കു ശരിയായ സംരക്ഷണം ഇല്ലെങ്കിൽ പിന്നത്തെ സ്ഥിതി എന്തായിരിക്കും എന്നു് ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടറിയുന്നുണ്ടു്. പഞ്ചായത്തു റോഡുകൾക്കും ബാധകമല്ലയിതു്? കഴിഞ്ഞ കൊല്ലം എല്ലാ പഞ്ചായത്തുകൾക്കും സംരക്ഷണത്തിനു വേണ്ടിടത്തോളം പണം തരാമെന്നു് ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു് എഴുതിയയച്ചു. നാഴികക്കു് ർറ, ന്യ, വ്യ വീതം, ഇങ്ങിനെ ധാരാളമായി എല്ലാ പഞ്ചായത്തിലേക്കും കൊടുക്കാമെന്നായിരുന്നു വാഗ്ദത്തം. ഇതുവരെ ഈ സംരക്ഷണം നടന്ന രീതി ഏതുവിധത്തിലാണെന്നുള്ളതിനു് തിരുവിലാമല പഞ്ചായത്തിനെ എടുത്തുകാട്ടി ഉദാഹരിക്കാം. പ്ര നാഴിക നിളമുള്ളതാണു് അവിടത്തെ റോഡു്. ഇതിനനുവദിച്ചിരുന്ന സംഖ്യ ഫെർ ഉറുപ്പിക മാത്രമാണു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഗതിന്തരമില്ലാതെ ഞങ്ങൾ തിപ്പിപ്പെടുകയും ചെയ്തിരുന്നു. വരുംകൊല്ലത്തിലേക്കാകട്ടെ മുപ്പത്തി ഓരായിരം ഉറുപ്പിക റോഡു സംരക്ഷണാർത്ഥം ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ കൊള്ളിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നാണു് പഞ്ചായത്തുകളെ അറിയിച്ചിരുന്നതു് പക്ഷെ ബഡ്ജറു വന്നപ്പോൾ കുട്ടിത്തരമെന്നുള്ള വാഗ്ദത്തത്തെ അതനുസരിച്ചുള്ള സംഖ്യയോടൊപ്പം റെ-ടഞ്ചുമെൻറുദ്ധർത്തതം തിന്നുതീർത്തതുകൊണ്ടായിരിക്കാം-കാണുകയുണ്ടായില്ല. എന്നാൽ സ്റ്റാൻറിംഗു് ഫിനാൻസു് കമ്മിറ്റിയുടെ നിർദ്ദേശമനുസരിച്ചു് ചിലവു ചെയ്യാനായി ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ കൊള്ളിച്ചിരുന്ന ഫ,൦൦൦ ഉറുപ്പികയെങ്കിലും റോഡു സംരക്ഷണാർത്ഥം പഞ്ചായത്തിലേക്കു കിട്ടുമെന്നായിരു

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ന്നു എന്റെ വിശ്വാസം. അതും ഇപ്പോൾ ഇനം മാറി ചിലവു ചെയ്യാൻ നിശ്ചയിച്ചു കഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. റോഡു സംരക്ഷണാർത്ഥം വാശ്യത്തം ചെയ്തു സംഖ്യ തരുന്നതിനു മറ്റു മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളൊന്നും ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു കാണുന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ എനിക്കു് ഒന്നേ ഇപ്പോൾ പറയുവാനുള്ളു. പുതിയതായി റോഡുകൾ വെട്ടുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി ട്ടുള്ള സംഖ്യയിൽ നിന്നും ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു സമ്മതിച്ചു നിരക്കുന്നു സരിച്ചു് നിലവിലുള്ള റോഡുകളുടെ സംരക്ഷണത്തിനുള്ള വകനീക്കി ബാക്കി മാത്രമെ ആ ആവശ്യത്തിനുപയോഗിക്കാവൂ എന്നുള്ളതാണതു്. ആദ്യമേ വെട്ടിച്ച റോഡുകൾക്കുതന്നെ ഇങ്ങനെ കൊല്ലംതോറും സംരക്ഷണയില്ലെങ്കിൽ രണ്ടു കൊല്ലം കഴിഞ്ഞാൽപിന്നെ ആ റോഡുകളുടെ നില എന്തായിരിക്കും? അതൊന്നും ആലോചിക്കാതെ എന്തിനു പുതിയ റോഡുകൾ വെട്ടുന്നു? വെട്ടിക്കഴിഞ്ഞ റോഡുകളുടെ സംരക്ഷണക്കുള്ള സംഖ്യ കൊടുക്കുവാൻ ഭാവമില്ലെങ്കിൽ ഈ പഞ്ചായത്തുകളെല്ലാം എടുത്തുകളയുകയാണു നല്ലതെന്നു ഞാൻ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനെ ധരിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

ഇനി വേറെ ഒന്നു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു് ഇതാണു്, പഞ്ചായത്തു വകുപ്പിലേക്കുള്ള അഭ്യർത്ഥനാ ബഡ്ജറ്റു സമ്മേളനത്തിന്റെ അവസാനദിവസത്തിലെ കാഴ്ചപരിപാടിയിലാണു് ഇവിടെ പതിവായി ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തികാണാറുള്ളതു്. ഉൾനാടുകളിൽ പഞ്ചായത്തു ജോലികൾപലതും ചെയ്യേണ്ടതായിട്ടുണ്ടാകും. അതെല്ലാം ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനെ ധരിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതുമാണു്. എന്നാൽ അതു കാഴ്ചമാത്രമാണു് ഇവിടെ നടക്കാൻ തരമില്ലാതിരിക്കുന്നതു്. സമയമില്ലായ്മയാണു് പരിതാപകരമായ ഈ സംഭവത്തിന്റെ ഹേതു. അതുകൊണ്ടു് വരുന്ന കൊല്ലം മുതലെങ്കിലും ഇതു കുറെ മുൻകൂട്ടിവച്ചാൽ കൊള്ളാം എന്നപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു.

ഇവിടെ ഒരു ഗ്രാമീണപരിഷ്കരണക്കമ്മിറ്റി ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നുവെല്ലോ. അതിൽ ഞാനും ഒരു മെമ്പറാണു്. എങ്കിലും അതിപ്പോൾ ഏതു നിലയിൽ ഇരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നു ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനോടു ഞാൻ തന്നെ ചോദിക്കേണ്ടതായിട്ടാണു് വന്നിരിക്കുന്നതു്. ഇതിൽ എനിക്കു വലുതായ ലജ്ജയും തോന്നുന്നുണ്ടു്. പക്ഷെ മെമ്പർമാർ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനോടല്ലാതെ ആരോടു ചോദിക്കും? കമ്മിറ്റി നടപടികളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള റിപ്പോർട്ടുകളും മറ്റും പ്രസിഡെണ്ടിന്റെ കയ്യിൽതന്നെ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കാം. എന്നാൽ അതു് ഇപ്പോൾ ഏതു നിലയിലിരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നു ഞങ്ങൾക്കു് അറിഞ്ഞുകൂടാ. ഈ കമ്മിറ്റിമൂലം എന്തു ഗുണമുണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു് നാം അന്വേഷിക്കേണ്ടതില്ല. ധനനഷ്ടം ഇതുമൂലമുണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതു് ഇപ്പോൾ അനുഭവമുള്ളതുമാണു്. അനാവശ്യമായി വന്ന ഈ നഷ്ടം പണം നാട്ടുകാരുടെതാകയാൽ തിരിച്ചു കിട്ടേണ്ടതാണു താനും.

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അത'ന വേണ്ടതായ നടപടികളം നടത്തേണ്ടതാണെന്നാണ' ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ എനിക്കു പറയാനുള്ളതു'.

ഇനി ഒന്നു പറവാനുള്ളതു', ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥ സാമാജികന്മാരോടു പ്രത്യേകിച്ചുള്ള ഒരപേക്ഷയാണ'. സാധാരണയായി മനുഷ്യരിൽ കണ്ടു വരുന്ന ഒരു ദോഷമാണ' വേഴ്ച കൂടുതൽ. ഒരുത്തനു മറെറാരുത്തനോടു സ്നേഹം എന്നുള്ളതു' സ്വാഭാവികമായി ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതാണ'. മെലുദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്കു കീഴുദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരോടു സ്ഥായിയുണ്ടായിരിക്കുകയും പതിവാണ'. അവരെല്ലാവരും മനുഷ്യർതന്നെയല്ലേ? മനുഷ്യരല്ലാത്തവർ ഈ ഉദ്യോഗത്തിനു തന്നെ വരുന്നതല്ലെല്ലൊ. സ്ഥായിയുടെ ലക്ഷണം സ്ഥായിയുള്ളവനു കയറം കൊടുക്കുക മുതലായ ഉപകാരങ്ങളം ചെയ്യുന്നതാണ'. എന്നാൽ അങ്ങിനെ ഒരാളംക്കു ചെയ്യുമ്പോളം പത്തുനാലുപേർക്കു ദോഷം പറും. ഇതിന്റെ കത്താക്കന്മാരോടു' ഈ ദോഷമനുഭവിക്കുന്നവർക്കുണ്ടായേക്കാവുന്ന മനോഭാവമെന്തായിരിക്കുമെന്നു' ഞാൻ പറയേണ്ടതുണ്ടോ? ഇവർ തങ്ങളുടെ സങ്കടത്തെപ്പററി എഴുതി ആവലാതിപ്പെട്ടാൽ മറെറ ആളംക്കു അധികം സവ്വീസ' ഉണ്ടെന്നു മറുപടി കൊടുക്കും. പിന്നെ ഒരിക്കൽ ഒരാളെ കയറി വിടുമ്പോളം ആവലാതി വന്നാൽ അയാളംക്കു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ യോഗ്യത കൂടുമെന്നായിരിക്കും മറുപടി. മൂന്നാമതു ഇതുപോലെ ആവലാതി വരുമ്പോളം കയറം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ളയാളംക്ക' ശമ്പളം കൂടുതലുണ്ടായിരുന്നു എന്നും മറുപടി കൊടുക്കും. ഈ മാതിരിയുള്ള ഏർപ്പാടുകളം ഒന്നു നിരുത്തിയാൽ കൊള്ളാം. ഇതുമൂലം അസംഖ്യം ജനങ്ങളം കഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്നുണ്ടു'. നിങ്ങളം ചെയ്യുന്നതെല്ലാം അനുഭവിക്കുകയല്ലെ തരമുള്ളു. ഇതിൽ ദിവാൻജിയുടെ കാര്യം മാത്രമല്ല ഞാൻപറയുന്നതു'. മൊത്തത്തിൽ എല്ലാ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെയുമാണ'. ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു' എഴുതുന്ന വിധിക്കു അപ്പീലില്ല. മുൻസീഫ'കോട്ടിലെ വിധിയിന്മേൽ ഡിസ്ട്രിക്ട' കോട്ടിൽ അപ്പീലുണ്ട'. ഡിസ്ട്രിക്ട' കോട്ടിലെവിധിയിന്മേൽ ചീഫ'കോട്ടിലേക്കും അപ്പീൽ ഉണ്ടു'. അപ്പീലില്ലാത്ത വിധി കുറച്ചാലോചിച്ചു എഴുതേണ്ടതാണ'. നിസ്സാര സംഗതികളിൽ കൈകടത്താതെ കീഴുദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഒന്നുപോലെ—സവ്വീസുള്ളവരാണെങ്കിൽ അങ്ങനെ, കാളിഫിക്കേഷൻ നോക്കിയാണെങ്കിൽ അങ്ങിനെ, ശമ്പളക്കൂടുതലാണെങ്കിൽ അങ്ങിനെ—ഇതിലേതെങ്കിലും ഒരു ന്യായം അനുസരിക്കണം. എല്ലാത്തിനും ഒരു നിശ്ചിത നയം വേണം. അതുകൊണ്ടു ഓരോരുത്തന്റെ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഓരോ ന്യായം എന്നുള്ള നിയമമാറിയാൽ കൊള്ളാമെന്നുള്ള അപേക്ഷയോടു കൂടി ഞാൻ തല്ക്കാലം അവസാനിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

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Mr. P. Raman Menon.—I am sorry that I cannot congratulate the Government on the Budget now presented to this House. I see no earnest attempt made therein to effect retrenchments and reduction of expenditure in the various departments of the State. On the other hand, it goes on unmoved by the sorry spectacle all round and proposes to raise further funds by fresh taxation. We are at a loss to see what led the Government at this time of acute distress to enhance the pay of a number of high officials when the public and this Council were complaining incessantly that our system of administration is top-heavy. The most note-worthy instance seems to be that of the Chief Medical and Sanitary Officer. It becomes more inexplicable when we find that there was a proposal even then to bifurcate his functions and place the department of rural sanitation under a separate officer. Does the Government propose to have such a highly paid official at the head of the Medical Department, even after such bifurcation? Unlike the other heads of departments, he is enjoying the privilege of having private practice. Similarly we are at a loss to see what induced the Government to raise the pay of some of the professors of the College from the grade 200 to 400 to 400—500 and of the Headmaster of the Training Institution from the grade 125—200 to 200—400.

The cuts effected by the Government in the pay of the officers are quite inadequate in some cases and work hardship in others. Officers drawing less than Rs. 100 could well have been spared and a gradually ascending scale of cut up to a maximum of 20 per cent could have been adopted in the case of others. As a matter of fact, the present cut involves no sacrifice at all on the part of the high officials. The very low price of almost all the necessaries of life must bring down their expenses when compared with the times before this world-wide depression began. They were agitating for a more liberal scale at a time when prices of commodities went abnormally high as a result of the great war. The Special Finance Committee also proposed the scale of pay in consideration of the then existing conditions. Even at that time, a large section of the public did not approve of such a top-heavy system of administration. Time showed that the abnormal rise in prices was only a temporary one and prices have now dropped to their old level. The changes made to suit the abnormal times have to be revised. Any one who has taken pains to note down yearly the prices of commodities before and after the great war of 1914, will be convinced that the rise was abnormal and that we cannot reasonably hope for a restoration of the old order of things. Therefore it follows

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that the scale of salary recommended by the Special Finance Committee or adopted by the Government is abnormal. If the Government had followed only the recommendations of the Special Finance Committee, there would have been at least the virtue of consistency. But the Government followed only partly their recommendations and partly they had their own way. In consequence, there was practically a windfall in increased emoluments to the favoured class of officers. It is the duty of the Government to bring down the expenses of administration to a normal level. If the Government is anxious to do the right thing in this direction, they ought to appoint a non-official committee to thresh out the whole question and to make suitable recommendations for effecting the desired retrenchments and reductions in expenditure. In British India, various committees were appointed for this purpose. Even in the Political Department, the committee, it is seen, has recommended a cut of 1 1/3 crores in a budget of 6½ crores which means nearly 20 per cent of the total expenditure. For further reducing the expenditure, they have recommended the appointment of more Indians in the department. In the sister State of Travancore also, they appointed a committee which has not yet concluded its investigations. But it appears that they have already recommended a reduction in expenditure in the various departments to the extent of 9·88 lakhs, of which cuts to the extent of 2·44 lakhs have been already accepted, while others are awaiting the decision of the Government. Cochin is a tiny State when compared with Travancore or Mysore; though we have to keep up all the paraphernalia of a Ruling Power, let us have them only on a small scale commensurate with the income and the extent of the State.

I agree with the principles of the Income-tax Bill now before the Council; let it become law. But I would strongly urge that it may not be brought into force during this period of acute economic depression. There might be no justification for excluding citizens making savings out of trade, commerce, banking, etc., from contributing their quota to carry on the administration. But that is only one side of the picture. The taxes existing in our State are unbearably heavy. Income-tax is generally collected in countries where land is not taxed at all or where the land tax is comparatively light. In these days when paddy and cocoanuts are going down in value, the Pattadars find it extremely difficult to find the Sirkar tax from the income of the property. And in a country where agriculture is the mainstay of the people, it will really hit them hard, if their incomes from other sources are also taxed. Have we now really

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come to a stage when the administration could not be carried on with the existing sources of income and surplus to the credit of the Government? Unless the Government is satisfied that it cannot function properly without resorting to extra taxation, there is no justification for enforcing it at this critical juncture.

In this connection, I have to point out that the expenses incurred or going to be incurred in connection with the Harbour and the Railways is no ground for not making our surplus available to meet these deficits. The capital outlay in connection with the Harbour and Railways is expected to bring in a return every year in future. The benefit of it is to be enjoyed by coming generations as well and it is only just and equitable that the burden also should be shared by them. The only equitable way to find funds for such expenditure is to raise the necessary amount by way of debenture bonds. I cannot understand why the Government has proposed to raise only 75 lakhs by way of loan, when the capital expenditure proposed is much more. In the Travancore budget, they have not charged capital expenditure to revenue. Why then should our surplus, wrung out of the poor starving people be utilised for these ambitious undertakings? According to sound principles of finance, only so much of the people's money should be collected as could profitably be spent upon them. The people have therefore a right to demand that such surplus should be made use of to meet deficits in times of disaster.

There is another disquieting rumour that the Government intends to start re-settlement of land revenue next year. It can only be to enhance the tax which is even now unbearable. The proposed income-tax, the rumoured settlement enhancement and the prevailing economic disaster are making the people more and more desperate. If income-tax is to be collected now why should the Government think of a re-settlement at the same time? The income-tax will affect all subjects of the State including agriculturists who have other sources of income and any one of these additional burdens will cripple their resources and ruin them beyond redemption. If the intention of the Government is to give up the re-settlement now and to proceed with the Income-tax Bill that may be made clear. The last settlement has levied the maximum amount of tax that could be collected from the land, and the burden of it was not keenly felt only on account of the steady and rapid rise in the price of paddy and other products of the land. Now that prices have gone down, even lower than the rate prevailing at the time of the settlement, the burden is being felt more and more. The

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Travancore Government has ordered that all coercive steps for realisation of arrears for 1107 be suspended till the end of Vrischigam 1108. Any idea of carrying on this top-heavy system of administration, through fresh taxation without radically changing it, will only land the Government in inextricable difficulties in times to come. In these days of depression, no money ought to be spent by the Government except on departments essential to the existence of Government. For example, our Agricultural Department is seen to be more an ornamental one and the benefit that has hitherto accrued to the people are little when compared with the huge cost of maintaining the department. The work could easily, now at least, be entrusted to the head of the Revenue Department. The Forest-Tramway is another costly luxury which has been giving trouble to the State for the last so many years. Keeping it in this condition benefits only a few who are now exploiting the Anamalai Hills. It is high time to consider seriously what should be done with it. We have to scrutinise carefully the income from it and the cost of maintaining it. If extension or diversion of Tramway will enable the Government to work it profitably, it is high time to start works in that direction. Most of the departments in the State are over-manned. In the Public Works Department, there were only two Assistant Engineers before 1100 M. E. We now find 5 of them including the Mechanical Assistant Engineer who are all placed in the grade 200—400. The number of Overseers also has increased out of all proportion.

Another department in which considerable savings could be effected without appreciable injury to the people is the Education Department. The present policy of the Government in the matter of grants to aided schools require careful revision. Whatever necessity there was at one time to meet practically all the expenses of running these aided schools by the State, it is clear that more and more burden in this direction may now be thrown on the people themselves. We are told that the grant now given is so attractive, that the people are making a business of it and making money out of the same. It is necessary to encourage private individuals to start schools, but certainly, it was not the idea of the Government to make it a source of income to unscrupulous persons. Cochin comparatively speaking does not lag behind her sister States in the matter of education and no great inducement is now necessary for private agencies to come forward and undertake the work. Even if the Government were to directly conduct these schools, the expenses will not go higher and it will be a source of employment for a large number of His Highness' subjects irrespective of caste, creed or colour.

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In the Revenue Department also, a close scrutiny will reveal means of effecting retrenchment and reductions in expenditure. For the proper collection of revenue and maintenance of village records, the existing large number of village officials is not necessary. Villages could be grouped and the number of officials reduced. In the Mukundapuram Taluk, before the settlement, there were only 10 Proverthies and each Proverthy had no more officials than we have in our present villages now. After the settlement there are 55 villages. I know that even to-day in some cases, two or three villages are grouped together. But my submission is that the system can be availed of to a greater extent and the cost reduced. If the establishment in the various departments are carefully scrutinised, means can be found to reduce expenditure in all directions.

Coming to the various departments of the State, I shall first take up the Educational Department which was responsible for the expenditure of Rs. 14,03,359 in the year 1106. The receipts in the department amounted only to Rs. 3,33,413. Out of this large amount of expenditure Rs. 4,79,595 is seen given away as grant to aided schools. The percentage of educational work done directly by the Government is only 29·7 and the rest of the work was got done through aided or recognised schools. We have therefore to bestow some attention upon the subject of the grant-in-aid which involves such a big amount. According to the Administration Report for 1106, the total strength of all the educational institutions in the State was 1,49,164 while the total number of children of school-going age as reported by the Census Superintendent is 1,78,516. This shows that in the matter of education, Cochin does not lag behind at all. The number of schools conducted by private agencies also bear testimony to the interest taken by the people in imparting education. Out of 732 literary institutions in the State, 171 alone are conducted directly by the Government, while 580 belong to the class of aided or recognised institution. Similarly out of 42 Industrial institutions, 22 are conducted by the Government while the remaining 20 are aided ones.

This is a department in which the Government themselves have realised there is waste. To eliminate waste chiefly, an Educational Survey has been undertaken and the results are awaited with interest. While as a result of the survey, a few classes here and there and a few schools may be closed, various other aspects of waste in the department are likely to be untouched. The scope of the survey is too limited.

Retrenchment must really begin with the reduction of the abnormal rate of grant now allowed to schools in the State. In

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the sister State of Travancore, the grant allowed to teachers is only a little over half of what is sanctioned here. In Mysore and Madras, it is considerably less than that of Travancore even. While a fully developed primary school in Cochin, with, say, four teachers receives Rs. 750 to Rs. 850 per annum as grant, a similar school in Travancore gets only Rs. 450 to 600, in Mysore Rs. 200 to 250. In Madras they get still less only. In the history of the whole world, perhaps, there is no parallel to the system of grant followed in this little State. I am aware that the proposal to reduce grant will not be cherished by managers of schools, but for the matter of that, cuts in pay, now proposed by the Government will not be cherished by Government servants, nor fresh taxation by the people at large. In the circumstances what is just and reasonable must be done. Apart from mere lavishness in expenditure, the present rate of grants speaks of blind confidence placed in private agencies—such blind confidence as reveals a lack of self-confidence on the part of the Government. In the wake of all this, it is not surprising to find here and there managers ready to set at nought departmental orders. The Government are helpless as they have no schools in various places under their direct management. Reduction of grant coupled with the starting of typical Sirkar primary schools in selected centres will be a measure of both economy and efficiency now. I would propose a greater reduction of grant in the case of schools on Travancore or British borders.

Another measure of retrenchment is in connection with girls' high schools. There is no use of maintaining fully developed high schools for girls unless the upper secondary section can show at least 100 pupils on the rolls. The Chittur girls' high school is a typical example of waste.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—We do not think so.

Mr. P. Raman Menon.—I am told that there are only very few girls in the upper secondary section, Form Six having only a strength of 7 or 8 and a separate high school is being maintained.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—It has become a fully developed school only this year.

Mr. P. Raman Menon.—When the strength falls short of 100 in the high school classes, Form V and VI may be abolished and girls may be admitted in the neighbouring boys' high schools. Even if a girls' section is opened in the latter, the pay of a full timed headmistress can be saved and this means a saving nearly of Rs. 2,000 per annum. The concession now granted to girls may also be revised and fees raised now.

Let me next refer to College Education. The Maharaja's College is a white elephant already. This little State seems to

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be providing a model College for the whole Presidency. I do not refer to the present expenditure on buildings. Of late the recurring expenditure has been rising by leaps and bounds. The proportion of income to expenditure has risen from 1·2 in 1105 to 1·3 almost in 1107. We maintain groups like History and Economics, Economics and History for B. A., thereby allowing a sort of duplication except for the emphasis on History in one group and Economics in the other. Professors are said to work only 6 periods a week, assistants coming to their aid in other periods. While the College is a luxury to many, it is a grand luxury to the Professors who revel in it at the cost of the tax-payer. The institution requires to be closely scrutinised, so that retrenchment may be effected.

The Industrial section also requires careful scrutiny. Four to six years' course is provided for Weaving, Carpentry and other domestic industries in various institutions in the State. In the 4th year or even for the matter of that, even in the 6th year, productions per head of pupil are poor and earnings negligible. Evidently pupils do not receive training to stand on their own legs. On the other hand, they learn that the industries they are pursuing are not paying concerns. Has any school so far demonstrated to the pupils that Weaving or Carpentry is a paying concern? So far as I have learned, it is a history of waste these institutions have to teach and in this matter, the premier institutions at Trichur and Ernakulam take the lead. The Government will do well to consider if there are not ways and means to eliminate waste and improve the training that is given in our Industrial schools.

On the administrative side also, there is a lot of waste particularly in the Inspectorate, where the Inspector and the Deputy, at least in the Southern Division, are seen visiting the same schools the same day or within a couple of days and swelling the expenditure under the travelling allowance for no good reason. The Inspectress of Schools has in her charge only as many schools—say, about a 100—as a Deputy Inspector has. She has a Deputy Inspectress to help her. Yet she is paid as much as an Inspector of Schools who has nearly 300 schools in his jurisdiction. The pay now given is excessive.

The Medical department also appears to be over-manned. Before 1098, there was only one Chief Medical Officer and two Civil Surgeons in the State. Now we have 5 of them of whom two are in the same Institution. If the system of employing honorary surgeons are resorted to in an increasing measure, the expenditure of this department can be curtailed. (*Hear, hear.*)

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So far as the Public Works Department is concerned, my constituency has been practically ignored. Several works of Public utility urgently required and promised by the Government are not seen to be included in the Budget. I hope the Government will try to carry out some of them at least during the course of the next year. In this connection I would like to point out that the road leading to Kanjiramittam market is a very important one and that it may be taken over by the Public Works Department.

We are grateful to the Government for the privilege granted to the Members of the Council to ask supplementary questions and for extending the franchise. We hope that the Government will ere long find its way to make the Executive responsible to the Council.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Sir, I shall make one or two general observations before I proceed to offer my remarks on the different departments.

Although I had the good fortune to be a Member of this Council ever since its inauguration, it has never fallen to my lot to unreservedly congratulate the Government on the Budget presented by them. And I do not think that I am in a better position to-day than before. I do not care whether it is a surplus budget or a deficit one. For it is not very difficult to make a surplus budget a deficit one and *vice versa*. The budget is after all only a jugglery of figures as some put it. Constituted as our Government is, it is only a device for them to say that there are no funds if really they did not want a thing to be done.

The one and sure test by which I judge the budget is to see whether it in any way provides for the amelioration of the economic condition of the masses. Judging by that test the budget for the next year is as usual a very disappointing one. When all is said and done, it is the poor agriculturist who forms the back-bone of the country. What is their condition to-day? They are as a class admittedly poor and their indebtedness is proverbial. Call it depression or whatever other name you like, the sudden fall in prices has brought havoc among them. Ruin stares them in the face. The entire product of his labours to-day is not enough to pay the Government dues. Unless relief comes to him in the shape of higher level of prices or he is in a position to increase his output, it will be practically impossible for him to discharge his obligations. His plight is sure to have grave reactions on Government finances.

It may be that this depression is world-wide and a small dependant State like ours may not be able to control it or much less avert it. Great economist and financiers in British India

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attribute it mainly to the monetary policy of the British Government and so on. Since we cannot have an independent financial policy of our own, which will have the effect of raising the level of prices, we have to rest content for the present with the other alternative, namely, the increasing of our output by increasing production and finding out markets for the sale of our articles. And I ask what has the Government done or what they propose to do in this direction?

I have said above that we have no control over the world forces. We have to satisfy ourselves by trying to make ourselves self-sufficient. In order to achieve this object we must multiply production. From this standpoint the most useful department is the Agricultural Department. The extent of land available for cultivation is limited and there is only very little quantity of land which has yet to be brought under cultivation. We have therefore to resort to what is known as intensive cultivation. Our agriculturists are as a class illiterate and orthodox. They have to be taught by example how to do it. No doubt the Government have provided some money for demonstrations in ryots' lands, but my submission is that it is not enough and that any amount spent on this will be amount usefully spent.

Side by side with the improvement of our agriculture, organising agricultural and industrial co-operative societies, organising cottage industries throughout the State, making additional facilities for irrigation and the like must be undertaken. Looked from this stand point, the budget under review is again a disappointing one. We see a noticeable decrease in the provision made for Agriculture, Panchayats, Uplift of the depressed classes, Communications—original, Irrigation, Industries etc., etc. I know the difficulties that stood in the way of the Government in making more provision for the above, in the budget. It is the large provision made for the College works, the provision of nearly 4 lakhs this year. This is likely to be a recurring difficulty, for we do not yet know what the whole scheme will cost us in the end. It is, to say the least, scandalous for the Government to launch upon such big and costly schemes especially in critical times like these without having an exact idea of the cost it involves. I have only two remedies to suggest. One is to suspend the College construction and through it 'the mass production of Graduates,' in the words of Dr. P. C. Ray, whose market value has gone down as low as Rs. 10 in our State. The other is to spend for it from the surplus instead of from the current income. This may necessitate the borrowing of a little more amount for the Harbour and the Railway conversion works. But that does not matter.

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No doubt, there are certain special features in this year's budget—Salaries cut, Income-Tax and the State Loan—and I am glad that the Government has now at least acceded to the request of the public in this matter. I welcome the first two as an attempt of removing the inequalities of wealth. The only set of people who have benefited by the world-wide depression are the Government servants. There is a general fall in the price of all articles of necessity by at least 25 per cent and the cut proposed is only 5 and 10 per cent. This cut will not be able to equalise the position, but it will at least serve to remind them of the pitiable lot of the agriculturists who form the back-bone of the country. So also is the case of income-tax. I wish to say only one word in this connection. It appears that the Government has no idea to enforce the cut and tax their income at the same time. If this is so, I emphatically enter my protest against that policy. The salary cut is intended only to equalise the position of parties. The pay of the officers were reorganised and increased at a time when the cost of living became very dear. Now that it has become very cheap it is only just and equitable that their pay also should be proportionately reduced. No doubt, as some Members said, it will always cause heart-burning to lose what one has got, unless he or she is a saint. But I hope that this will make them think of the real condition in the country and the realisation that the income of the people from whom the funds necessary for their pay comes has fallen by 40 and in some case 50 per cent and that the amount now cut can be saved from one or two items of expenditure such as rice and clothes, will, I am sure, cheer them up.

Coming to Panchayats, I have to point out that only a very small sum has been provided for this department. In this connection I want to bring to the notice of the Government a word regarding the appointment of an officer in the grade of an Assistant Engineer to check-measure the works that have been done by the Panchayats. I raised this point in the meeting of the Standing Finance Committee and I was told that there would not be enough funds to do that. I again repeat what I said in the Standing Finance Committee that the apparent expenses, considering the large amount of money we spend on buildings and other works in the Panchayats, will not be really so, because that officer with careful and efficient check and scrutiny will be able to save an appreciably larger amount than that spent on his salaries.

One word about the Excise policy. I also congratulate the Government for the step they have taken by introducing prohi-

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bition in at least one part of the country as an earnest, I hope, of what they will do in future. I only pray along with the Member for Nemmara that the Government will make up their mind to see that they succeed in this venture. This is the only request that I have to make to the Government. If they are lax, I am afraid that this will instead of helping the cause of prohibition, will kill it, because after one or two years you will come here and say "we tried prohibition and failed and you shall not speak about prohibition any more". So I respectfully remind the Government that it is a very heavy responsibility that they have taken and I hope they will duly discharge it.

A word more, Sir, about the reforms. Much has been said about it and I do not wish to dwell at length upon it. I also take this opportunity of thanking His Highness for having graciously pleased to give us a little more power. May I respectfully request you, Sir, to tell His Highness that, taking every thing into account and looking at the powers which the Council now has, I think we have not been able to get more than two annas in the rupee. What we really want is full control over the Executive. Perhaps some of the Members may be satisfied with a benevolent autocracy while some others with an Executive Council. But for my part I will not be satisfied, nor do I think the country will be satisfied until we get real self-Government, a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people. No good Government will be a substitute for self-Government. As the time is up, I shall with these few words, conclude my preliminary remarks.

The House rose for lunch at 2 P. M. and met again at 3 P. M. with the Deputy President in the Chair.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.—Before attempting to make any observations on the Budget presented for the consideration of this House, allow me, Sir, to express on behalf of my constituency and my humble self our respectful feelings of genuine gratitude towards His Highness the benevolent Maharaja for granting to this Council a few of the little privileges for which the Council had been agitating from the very beginning of its birth. I recognise and appreciate the very important part that the Diwan as His Highness' chief adviser must have played in getting these privileges extended to us. It is also pleasing to note that before the general elections the franchise will be extended in a very liberal spirit. I am sure that before we meet for a discussion on the next budget His gracious Highness would be pleased to enable us to see the fruition of our labours for getting the more important of the privileges

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that we were fighting for, viz., an Executive Council, an elected President and a real power over the finances of the State. Experience must have told the authorities that it is quite safe to entrust the Legislative Council of Cochin with enhanced powers.

Turning to the Budget let me congratulate the Hon'ble Member for Finance for the masterly and lucid way in which he has pictured to us the affairs of Cochin as he sees them for the next year. He seems to be a little perturbed when he finds that his name is associated with three features according to him 'striking features' seen in the next year's budget. There is however no room for any such feeling. On the other hand he should feel justly proud for his name being associated with a budget which shows on its receipt side an income from a most equitable taxation viz., the income-tax. He can also feel genuine satisfaction in that it was in the very first budget presented by him on his assuming office that the true method of financing reproductive works such as the Harbour and the Railway conversion was adopted. But there is no room for any such feeling if he were a consenting party to the third feature viz., the cut in the salary. Let me not be misunderstood as saying that the cut should not have been introduced at all. Far from it. He was in the wrong to have agreed to a uniform low cut of 10% on all salaries above 80 and to have consented to any cut at all on the salaries of poorly paid men. I will refer in detail to this aspect when dealing with a cut on the General Administration standing in my name. For the present I will only say that the anxiety for a surplus budget could well have been satisfied by not resorting to any cut on salaries below Rs. 100 which I can only characterise as shameful.

I will now refer to some of the salient features of the Budget.

Land Revenue.—The economic depression to which is ascribed an expected fall to the extent of Rs. 80,000 under 'Capital' from the sale proceeds of lands, being not at hing that has sprung upon us, judging from the experience of the year that is just closing in which the receipt under this head is shown to be cent per cent, there is no justification for estimating the income from land revenue at Rs. 70,300 less than the revised figures for 1107. Further a perusal of the Memorandum explaining the details of the budget will show that the authorities in Cochin think that the economic depression is going to be less severe in the year to come, for they say that an increase of Rs. 13,900 over the revised figures for 1107 viz., Rs. 6,19,000, for stamps is anticipated on account of a possible increase in the

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sale of non-judicial stamps, the non-sale under the same head being responsible for a fall of stamp revenue to the extent of Rs. 29,400 from the figures budgetted for the current year.

On the disbursement side there are very many items such as Survey training to clerks, training of Tahsildars, and a few ther items under temporary establishment which can properly lie over for some time to come.

Forests.—I fail to see how the income from this important source is put down at Rs. 1,89,000 less than the revised figures for the current year. The working of the forest during the first nine months of the year, an year of economic depression, shows there is not any fall in the revenue anticipated for 1107. This cannot make the authorities so pessimistic as they pretend to be. It is high time that in the working of the department the slogan of low prices and uncertain conditions of the market is given up. It is trusted that the years to come will show a decided improvement in the working of this department now that it is presided over by a young and energetic son of the soil in whose appointment to the post I congratulate both the officer and the Government alike. He will have to take measures to allay the discontent existing amongst a section of his subordinates, the Foresters whose case has not been considered properly at the time of passing orders on the recommendations of the Special Finance Committee. I will revert to this subject in detail while discussing the cut motions under Forests.

Excise.—It is a pity that the State continues to depend to an appreciable extent upon its income from drugging its subjects for meeting expenditure. The experienced Commissioner has come out with an increased rental of Rs. 50,000 for the coming year and I am sure that in spite of the economic depression, he will collect the last pie of this tainted income. I wish he has shown his cleverness not in increasing the revenues from this department,but in so working the same as to reach the proclaimed goal of prohibition. A look at the working of this department for the last few years will convince any one that, in spite of one or two attempts at local option, there is no sincerity at all in the Government's statement that their aim is total prohibition.

Agriculture.—Agriculture being the mainstay of the people and the incidence of taxation being very high (Rs. 7—5—0 per head) it is incumbent on the Government to see that it comes to their relief whenever necessary. The monsoon rains on which the agriculture in the State mainly depends being very capricious in recent years, it is high time that the Government thinks of some practical measures of irrigation and engage a regular permanent staff of really capable men to take up investigation of useful

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schemes and put them into practice at an early date. There is no use of spasmodic attempts at investigation like the Thanikudam Scheme, the Chalakkudi Diversion Scheme and many other schemes like that without steadily pursuing the same and giving succour to suffering agriculturists. Any amount of money spent on irrigation will not be considered too much, provided it is well spent.

Education.—It used to be stated by the Hon'ble Member for Education in years gone by that even without resorting to compulsion, Primary Education was becoming universal in Cochin. But what is it that we find from the Report on the Administration of the Education Department for 1106? As against 1,33,217 in all the Primary Schools of the State in 1105 we have in 1106 only 1,27,365 or 5,852 students less. There is also a fall of 624 in the Lower Secondary Department during the period and to say that some schools had to be abolished owing to inefficient management and low attendance is not an answer for the fall in strength. Steps should have been taken to make the management thoroughly efficient and increase the attendance. In short the impetus given to Primary Education is not satisfactory. The Government has to see that all children of the School going age are put to school.

The same is the position regarding adult education. It is seen from the reports that there is a fall of 4,121 in the number that attended the schools intended for adults. It will be worthwhile for the Government to seriously consider whether it is profitable to spend more and more on Collegiate education year after year at the sacrifice of mass literacy.

Panchayat.—This being the unit of self-Government every endeavour should be made to make this institution more and more efficient. It is hoped that the officer presiding over this Department is sparing no pains to achieve this end. I hope I will not be misunderstood when I say that the Panchayat being a body of honorary workers, often the very pick and choice of the villages they represent, the Registrar has always to exercise great caution in dealing with them especially in the matter of correspondence. They are no subordinates of the Departmental Head as Government servants are.

The Registrar will do well also to make serious note of the various representations that are made in this House by representatives from each of the constituencies. It is not enough if he promises to do things from this Council and forgets the same at the time of the preparation of the budget. To cite but an example: it was pointed out to the Government that

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the village of Choolisseri in the constituency which I have the honour to represent has no school of its own ; the nearest school is more than a mile away ; the village in the rainy season is nothing but an island and that there is no road connecting this village with the nearest school. When these things were elicited through questions they understood that something has to be done for this village and said that the connecting road will be given soon. It is curious to see that provision for this could not be made even in the supplement to Panchayat programme put into our hands two days back. Allotment for the various Panchayats have to be made in consultation with the Presidents concerned and also of the members of the constituency if possible.

I am however glad that even in these days of financial stringency the Government has found its way to give immediate effect to the resolution which I had the honour to move in this House in Kumbham last, regarding the Central Ayurvedic Hospital.

Public Works.—I will touch but one other department, the department of Public Works. It is not understood why items of work partly executed in any particular year are not provided for in the years to come. I may also point out that it is desirable to provide only for such of the works which are ready to be undertaken. The schedule attached to the Preliminary budget contains too many items for which estimates have not been prepared. There are items in which even the Diwan's reference is not seen. The expenditure on buildings has to be reduced as far as possible.

Conclusion.—Before I conclude I think I will be failing in my duty to the State if I do not place before the Government one serious aspect of the services of the State. There is no use hiding the fact that there is discontent amongst people regarding recruitment. The Diwan will do well, to probe into the matter carefully and do what is just and necessary. There is further discontent amongst service men because of the inadequacy of pay and the awkward comparison they stand with some of the officers in the State and the equals outside. The case of our District Superintendent of Police, Prosecuting Inspector and Foresters will be examples to this point. What is our District Superintendent when compared to a District Superintendent in British? He is nowhere. Is he even equal in rank to an Inspector of Police? No. If it is not possible to give them a pay sufficient to keep up their status, at least take away the high sounding name of the District Superintendent of Police. What about our Prosecuting Inspector? There were times when we had three Prosecuting Inspectors ; then we had two on Rs. 100

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to 150. Now we have only one officer to do the whole work in the State with a pay of Rs. 100 to 150. What is the quantum of work our Prosecuting Inspector has to attend to? He has to prosecute the biggest cases emanating from 18 Police Stations and charged through the 7 Second Class Courts, 5 Specisl First Class Courts and the District Magistrate's Court. He has also to appear in appeals of second class cases, security cases, special Regulation cases and criminal revisions. How does he compare with some of the other officers of the State? He has to start on the same pay as that of the Band Master, Second in Command of the Nayar Brigade, sectional Head clerks of the Huzur misnamed Superintendents, chief section clerks of the Account Office also misnamed Superintendents and a Devaswam Inspector in charge of a single division, while his brother officers draw up to Rs. 275 in British and 200 in Travancore although they have assistants under them. But in British and in Travancore the Prosecuting Inspector always draws a pay much higher than the Magistrates in whose work the Prosecuting Inspector helps him. But here it is not so. He has to start on a salary of Rs. 25 less than the pay of the Magistrate and end with the same pay as the Magistrate. It is thus clear that the office of the single Prosecuting Inspector of the State is very very much underpaid and so it will be the barest justice to give the office at least its maximum of Rs. 150, if it is not possible just now to raise his pay above that of the Magistrate as in British and Travancore. I am sure the Diwan with his notions of fair play and justice will find his way to be just and fair to these ill-paid officers and do all that is necessary to drive away discontent from the services.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.—Sir, had all the noise produced in this House ever so long, fruitioned, we would not have been where we are today. Formality, rather than optimism, prompts some of us to persist in this oenonian song without a meaning to the heedless Gods reposing above.

What an insignificant portion of the country's population this House represents and what an insignificant responsibility those in power owe to it under the present constitution. Things must change, the sooner the better for all.

The budget has nothing to offer to the poor and nearly poor. The cold reception accorded here to the long-felt scheme of poor houses is a sad recollection. The fact that no provision could be made to the disabled poor even in the capital of this comparatively prosperous State is a definite shame.

The poor agriculturists of the State are groaning under the yoke of heavy taxation and the Government have not even made an attempt to lessen that burden except perhaps in the case of

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rubber cultivation. Some remission of agricultural taxes—however insignificant—should have been made, especially when the Government propose to realise a large amount by way of income-tax and cut in the salaries. Far more stringent measures than the income tax Bill to realise funds from the moneyed classes would, I can assure you, Sir, easily command the assent of this House, if only part of the money thus acquired would go to lessen the burden of rural taxation.

The blow of the present economic depression has been the hardest on the people of my constituency. The members of the Treasury Bench have not as yet realised the gravity of the situation there. Cocoanut cultivation being the sole source of income, the abnormally heavy fall in the price of cocoanut produces have left the people to such a deplorable condition as to make them taste the bitterest cup of penury. The petty landholders who form the majority are forced to incur more liabilities on their already mortgaged properties. The price of cocoanut husks especially has almost touched the lowest by being reduced to a fifth or a sixth of what was before and the sole means of livelihood of the poor is thus thwarted. If the concessions made in the case of rubber cultivators was really called for, it is decisively imperative in the case of the cocoanut farmers. It is highly disappointing to note that the Government have completely ignored the question of giving relief to the judgment debtors of the country and in spite of the depression the Government still aid the money lenders to exact the high rate of interest on transactions concluded in more prosperous times. The poor debtors with no idea of the terrible calamity in store for them contracted all debts on the distinct hope that they could redeem them from the income derived from the properties. However, due to the fabulous fall in the price of produces it is impossible for those poor helpless men to clear at least a part of these debts and thus satisfy the money lender. Nevertheles there is a powerful law backed up by the full force of the Government which exacts the pound of flesh from them. How the Government could sit tight over the helplessness of these men, advancing the plea of protecting the sanctity of private contracts it is impossible for me even to think of. When the whole nation is in the throes of a great disaster, when even the morale of the people is seriously threatened, it is cruel for the Government to drag such argument into this question. The exhorbitant rate of interest has to be curtailed by legislation as an immediate relief to debtors and thus earn the gratitude of the majority of people of this country. Bhavanagar, United Provinces and Ceylon, and Travancore to some extent are some of the shining examples—to adopt the in-

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spiring example of my learned friend for Revenue—the Government may take advantage of in pursuing a bold policy of relief to the miserable agriculturists and labourers of our country.

There seems to be no end of this state of affairs and Heaven only knows wither we are drifting. The tendency on the part of the people to initiate an un-official, summary way of meting out justice, as a moral stop-gap and motive-provocative is growing alarmingly. I need hardly add that even the poor long suffering taxpayers may be goaded to take defensive steps, the consequences of which will be anything but conducive to a peaceful Government.

It cannot be gainsaid that the Government have not made an honest attempt to make effective retrenchment in some of the departments. The Forest and Tramways still continue to be the white elephants to our exchequer; and nobody seems to know when they will cease to drain our coffers for their mere upkeep, let alone the possibility of their replenishing the treasury.

No doubt, the Government are eager to better the health of the people by constituting a separate Department of Health, but they do not seem to have paused to think of the possibility of effecting the contemplated improvements with the existing staff; and what is more, one cannot escape the conclusion that, while bifurcating the Medical Department, they have not made use of the axe with as much zeal as elsewhere. It is more than doubtful if the additional staff provided for the Co-operative department will ensure greater usefulness of the institution so long as the department continues to be a mere inspecting body. If the Government will only follow the example of the Madras Government by providing in the Budget for advancing loans to the Societies, the department is sure to serve better purpose especially at this time of financial stringency.

A word more about my constituency and I have done. And that is: considering the importance of means of communication in Cranganur the sum allotted for that purpose is apallingly small.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പി. വള്ളോൻ—സമർത്ഥനായ ധനകാര്യ സാമാജികൻ മനോഹരമായ ഭാഷയിൽ സമർപ്പിച്ച അടങ്കലിനെ വിമർശിപ്പാനുള്ള സാമ്പത്തികശാസ്ത്രസംബന്ധമായ അറിവോ, രാജ്യതന്ത്ര കുശലതയോ എനിയ്ക്കില്ല. എങ്കിലും മണ്ഡപ്രാണികളെപോലെ ജീവിയ്ക്കുന്ന രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ നട്ടെല്ലായ പാവപ്പെട്ട തൊഴിലാളിവർഗ്ഗങ്ങളുടെ ഒരു എളിയ പ്രതിനിധി എന്നനിലയിൽ ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ രണ്ടുവാക്കുപറയുവാൻ ഞാനാഗ്രഹിയ്ക്കുന്നു.

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പ്രജാക്ഷേമതല്പരനും പ്രജകളുടെ ഹിതമറിഞ്ഞു് രാജ്യകാര്യങ്ങൾ നടത്തുവാൻ സന്നദ്ധനായ ഒരു മഹാരാജാവും, നീതിമാനും ധർമ്മനിരതനും ആയ ഒരു മന്ത്രിയും നമുക്കുള്ള ഇടത്തോളംകാലം രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ ഭാവിയെപ്പറ്റി നമുക്കു് യാതൊരുവിധമായ ഭയാശങ്കകൾക്കും കാരണമില്ലെന്നാണു് എനിയ്ക്കു തോന്നുന്നതു്. നമ്മുടെ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ മഹാരാജാവിന്റെ ഭരണത്തിൽ രാജ്യത്തെ പരിഷ്കൃത ഭരണമാതൃകയുള്ള രാജ്യങ്ങളുടെ മുന്നണിയിൽ എത്തിയ്ക്കുന്നതിനാവശ്യമായ എല്ലാ ഭരണ പരിഷ്കാരങ്ങളും നമുക്കു് കൈവരുമെന്നു് ഉറയ്ക്കാവുന്നതുമാണു്. നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യം ഒരു പരീക്ഷണ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ എത്തിയിരിയ്ക്കുന്നുവെന്നാണെല്ലോ പറയുന്നതു്. വരവുകൊണ്ടു ചിലവു നടക്കുവാൻ പ്രയാസമായതുകൊണ്ടു് ഒരു നല്ല തറവാട്ടു കാരണവരെപോലെ നമ്മുടെ ധനകാര്യമെമ്പർ വരവു വർദ്ധിപ്പിയ്ക്കുവാനും ചിലവു കുറയ്ക്കുവാനും ശ്രമിയ്ക്കുന്നു. രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ ക്ഷേമൈശ്വര്യങ്ങളെ വർദ്ധിപ്പിയ്ക്കുവാനായി ഹാർബറും, റെയിൽവേയും പരിഷ്കരിക്കുവാൻ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു വലിയതുക കടം എടുക്കുന്നു. ചുരുക്കത്തിൽ അടുത്തകാലത്തു് നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യം ഒരു "അളകാപുരി"തന്നെ ആക്കിതീർക്കുവാനുള്ള എല്ലാ പരിശ്രമങ്ങളും നമ്മുടെ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടു്. എന്നാൽ ഈ പരിഷ്കാരങ്ങളെല്ലാം രാജ്യത്തിൽ ക്ഷേമവും സമാധാനവും ഉണ്ടാക്കുമോ എന്നാണു് എന്റെ സംശയം. രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ ക്ഷേമം, അധികം ജനങ്ങളുടെ ക്ഷേമമാണെങ്കിൽ നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യക്ഷേമം ഈ പരിഷ്കാരങ്ങളെകൊണ്ടു് സാധിയ്ക്കുമെന്നു പറയുവാൻ— ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ഭൂരിപക്ഷക്കാരായ പാവങ്ങളുടെ ഇടയിൽ ജനിച്ചുവളർന്നു് അവരിൽ ഒരാളായി ജീവിയ്ക്കുന്ന എനിയ്ക്കു് ധൈര്യമില്ല. ഉണ്ണാനും ഉടുക്കാനും ഇല്ലാതേയും, കയറികിടക്കുവാൻ ഒരു കുടിലുപോലും ഇല്ലാതേയും നിത്യദാരിദ്ര്യത്തിലും നിരാന്തരോഗത്തിലും കിടന്നുഴലുന്ന ഒരു വലിയ ജനവിഭാഗം ഈരാജ്യത്തുണ്ടെന്നുള്ള സംഗതി ഈയാണ്ടത്തെ പരിഷ്കാരം നിറഞ്ഞ ബഡ്ജറ്റു് തയ്യാറാക്കിയ സന്ദർഭത്തിൽ നമ്മുടെ ധനകാര്യമെമ്പർ ഓർമ്മിയ്ക്കുകയുണ്ടായോ എന്നു് ഞാൻ വിനയപൂർവ്വം ചോദിയ്ക്കട്ടെ. നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യം പരിഷ്കൃതമാണെന്നു് പലരും സ്തുതിയ്ക്കുന്നതു് ഞാൻ കേട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടു്. എന്താണിവർ പരിഷ്കാരമെന്നുപറയുന്നതു് എന്നു് എനിയ്ക്കു മനസ്സിലാകുന്നില്ല. വെളുക്കുമ്പോൾ മുതൽ കറുക്കുന്നതുവരെ ഇളവില്ലാതെ എല്ലുമുറിയെ പണിചെയ്തിട്ടും ഒരു നേരത്തെ കഞ്ഞിയ്ക്കുപോലും വകയില്ലാതേയുള്ള അനവധിപേർ ഇന്നും പണ്ടെന്നപോലെ ഇവിടെയുണ്ടു്. ജീവിതാവശ്യങ്ങൾ സമ്പാദിയ്ക്കുവാനുള്ള യാതൊരുമാർഗ്ഗവുമില്ലാതെഅലഞ്ഞു തിരിയുവാൻ നിർബ്ബന്ധിതരായവരുടെഎണ്ണവുംനമ്മുടെനാട്ടിൽചെറുതല്ല. ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള ഒരു രാജ്യം പരിഷ്കൃതമാണെന്നും, അവിടെ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു

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വേണ്ടിയുള്ള ഒരു ഭരണവുമാണ് നടക്കുന്നതെന്നും പറയുമ്പോൾ എനിയ്ക്കു വളരെ അത്ഭുതമുണ്ട്.

രാജ്യത്തിൽ സമാധാനം സംരക്ഷിയ്ക്കുവാൻ ഒരു പോലീസ് സൈന്യം നമുക്കുണ്ട്. നീതിയും ന്യായവും നടത്തുവാൻ കോടതികളുമുണ്ട്. ന്യായവും ഉണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ ഇതുകൊണ്ടെല്ലാം പാവങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം അവക്ക് രക്ഷയുണ്ടോ എന്നാണ് ഞാൻ ചോദിയ്ക്കുന്നത്. "മർദ്ദനമേല്ക്കുന്ന" പാവങ്ങളെ പ്രബലന്മാരുടെ മർദ്ദനത്തിൽനിന്നും ഇവ രക്ഷിയ്ക്കുന്നതായികാണുന്നില്ല.

നമ്മുടെ കരുണയേറിയ ഗവമ്മെണ്ട് പാവങ്ങളെ ഉയർത്തുവാൻ ഒരു അധഃകൃതോദ്ധാരണ വകുപ്പു സൃഷ്ടിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ള കഥയെ ഞാൻ വിസ്മരിയ്ക്കുന്നില്ല. എന്നാൽ അതും ആ പാവങ്ങളുടെ ഗുണത്തിനുവേണ്ടി ഉപകരിയ്ക്കുന്നതായി കാണുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു കഴിയുന്നില്ല. ആ വകുപ്പിന്റെ ഭരണത്തെപ്പറ്റി എനിയ്ക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതെല്ലാം ഞാൻ മറ്റൊരവസരത്തിലേയ്ക്കു മാറ്റിവയ്ക്കുന്നു. ഫൈനാൻസ് മെമ്പരുടെ "മഴ" ആ വകുപ്പിന്മേലും പതിയ്ക്കാതിരുന്നിട്ടില്ല. മുന്നാണ്ടിൽ ഒരു ലക്ഷത്തി ഇരുപതിനായിരത്തി ഒരു നൂറ് രൂപ അനുവദിച്ചപ്പോൾ തന്നാണ്ടിൽ രണ്ട് ഗ്രാമസ്ഥന്മാരേയും ഒരു ഇൻസ്പെക്ടരേയും കൂടി പുതുതായി നിയമിയ്ക്കുവാൻ തീരുമാനിച്ചിട്ടും തൊണ്ണൂറായിരം എണ്ണായിരം ഉറുപ്പികമാത്രമാണ് വക കണ്ടിട്ടുള്ളത്. അധഃകൃതോദ്ധാരണം മിക്കവാറും സാധിച്ചു കഴിഞ്ഞതുകൊണ്ടാണോ തന്നാണ്ടിൽ ഇങ്ങനെഇത്രയും കുറച്ചു സംഖ്യ മാത്രം നീക്കിവച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു ഞാൻ അറിയുന്നില്ല. (ഹീയർ, ഹീയർ) വാസ്തവം അതാണെങ്കിൽ ഗവമ്മേണ്ടിനേയും, ഉദ്ധാരണ വകുപ്പിനേയും പ്രത്യേകം പ്രശംസിയ്ക്കുതന്നെ വേണം.

നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തെ "പ്രാളിറ്റിക്സ്" ഉദ്യോഗത്തിനുള്ള പടിവലിയാണ്" എന്നു ചിലർ പറയുന്നതു കേട്ടു. അതിൽ വളരെ പരമാർത്ഥമില്ലാതെയുമില്ല. എന്നാൽ അവിടേയും തോൽവി പാവങ്ങൾക്കാണ്. രാജ്യത്തിൽനിന്നും പലേ ഇനങ്ങളിലുമായി പിരിച്ചെടുക്കുന്ന പണത്തിന്റെ വലിയൊരു ഭാഗം ശമ്പളമായി ഒരു കൂട്ടം ആളുകൾ പങ്കുവയ്ക്കുമ്പോൾ പുറത്തുനില്ക്കുന്നവരും അതിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കും ഒരു ഓഹരി വേണമെന്നു പറയുമ്പോൾ മുറുമുറുക്കാൻ കാരണമില്ലാത്തതാണ്". നിയമന കാര്യത്തിൽ വർഗ്ഗീയ ചിന്ത വിട്ട് അർഹതയുള്ളവരെ നോക്കി നിയമനം നടത്തുവാനുള്ള നല്ല മനസ്സ് ഗവമ്മേണ്ടുദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്കുണ്ടായിട്ടില്ല. പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കുറഞ്ഞവരുടെ അപേക്ഷകൾക്ക് മുൻഗണന നൽകണമെന്നുള്ള ഗവമ്മേണ്ടിന്റെ "മെമ്മൊ" നിയമനാധികാരമുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്ക് അവരോട് ഒരു വിരോധം ഉളവാ

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ക്കുക കൂടി ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നു. അവരെ പുറംതള്ളി സ്വന്തക്കാരെ (സ്വന്തക്കാരല്ലാത്തപ്പോൾ സ്വജാതിക്കാരെ) നിയമിയ്ക്കുവാനുള്ള എന്തുപായവും ചെയ്യുവാൻ ചിലർ മടിയ്ക്കുന്നില്ല.

ഞാറയ്ക്കൽ ഹൈസ്കൂൾ മാസപ്പടി, ഉദ്യോഗം സംബന്ധിച്ചുണ്ടായ ഒരു സംഭവം ഞാനിവിടെ ഉദ്ധരിയ്ക്കാം.

അവിടെ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്ന ഒരു മാസപ്പടി ഒഴിവിനു് മൂന്നു അധ്യാപകരും ഒരു കുസ്യാനിയും അപേക്ഷകന്മാരായിരുന്നു. നാലു പേരും സ്ഥലത്തു ഹാജരായപ്പോൾ, അധ്യാപകരിൽ ഒരുവനോടു് ജാമ്യം സംഖ്യയായി ൫൦൦ ക. ഡെപ്പോസിറ്റ് കെട്ടാമോയെന്നു് ചോദിച്ചതിൽ കെട്ടാമെന്നു് ഒരു അധ്യാപകൻ സമ്മതിച്ചു് സംഖ്യ സെൻട്രൽ കൊ ഓപ്പറേറ്റീവിൽ മണിയോർഡർ അയച്ചിട്ടു് ചെന്നപ്പോൾ ജോലി തന്റെ സ്വന്തക്കാരനു കൊടുത്തുപോയെന്നും പറയുന്നു. സാധുവായ ആ അധ്യാപകൻ കടക്കാരനായി. ജോലിയുമില്ല, രൂപയുമില്ല. എന്നാൽ ആ അധ്യാപകൻ ൫൦൦ ക. ഡെപ്പോസിറ്റുചെയ്യുവാൻ എത്രമാത്രം കഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടാവുമെന്നു് ഈ സഭയിലെ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർമാർക്കു് ആലോചിച്ചാൽ അറിയാവുന്നതാണു്. അധ്യാപകരുടെ കാര്യം എപ്പോഴും എവിടേയും ഇപ്രകാരമാണു് നടക്കുന്നതു്.

അധ്യാപകർക്കായി നിയമിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ള അധ്യാപക സംരക്ഷകൻ അവർക്കു് മറ്റുള്ളവരോടു് ഉദ്യോഗം വാങ്ങിക്കൊടുക്കുവാൻ കടപ്പെട്ട, അവരുടെ പേരിൽ ഒരു വമ്പിച്ച ശമ്പളം പറ്റുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥൻ തന്നേയും തന്റെ കീഴിലുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ അധ്യാപകർക്കു നൽകാതെ സ്വന്തം ജാതിക്കാർക്കും ശുപാർശക്കാർക്കും നൽകുമ്പോൾ മേല്പറഞ്ഞ ഹൈസ്കൂളിലെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥനെപ്പറ്റി എന്തെങ്കിലും ആക്ഷേപം ബോധിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ എനിക്കു ധൈര്യമില്ല. (ചിരി) ഇത്തരം സംരക്ഷണയിൽനിന്നു ഞങ്ങളെ രക്ഷിയ്ക്കുവാൻ അപേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

ഡെപ്യൂട്ടി പ്രസിഡെന്റ്.—ഇനി ഒരു മിനിട്ടുസമയം മാത്രമേയുള്ളു. അതിനകമായിട്ടു വായിച്ചുതീർക്കണ്ടതാണു്.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പി. വള്ളോൻ.—ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരങ്ങളെ പറ്റിയും ഇവിടെ ചിലർ പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. മൂലധനം ഏറ്റുപോലുള്ള അടിയുറച്ചുകിടക്കുന്ന ഇന്നത്തെ കൊള്ളരുതാത്ത സമുദായ ഘടന ഉടച്ചുവാർത്തിട്ടല്ലാതെ ഭരണാധികാരം ഒരാളിൽനിന്നു് ഒരു സംഘത്തിലേയ്ക്കു മാറ്റിയതുകൊണ്ടുമാത്രം ഫലമില്ല. അതിനു ഗവർമ്മെൻറും, മൂലധനക്കാരുടെ പ്രതിനിധ്യം വഹിക്കുന്ന ഈ നിയമസഭയും തയ്യാറാകുമെന്നു വിശ്വസിക്കുവാനുള്ള വിഡ്ഢിത്തം എനിയ്ക്കില്ല. എന്നാൽ അവരെ നിർബ്ബന്ധിക്കുന്ന ഒരു കാലം അതു വളരെ അകലെയാണെന്നു എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നുമില്ല. വോട്ടധികാരം തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു വിപുലമാക്കാൻ പോകുന്നുണ്ടെ

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ല്ലൊ. രണ്ടു ശ്രീപാ കരം ഒടുക്കു ഉള്ളവക്കെല്ലാം വോട്ടനൽകണ മെന്നു ചിലർ പറഞ്ഞതു കേട്ടു. എന്തുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ പ്രായംവന്നവക്കൊക്കെ വോട്ടു കൊടുത്തുകൂടാത്തതെന്നു ആരും ചോദിക്കാത്തതു്; (ഹീയർ, ഹീയർ) പാവങ്ങളുടെ പ്രതിനിധ്യം അവക്കില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടായിരിക്കാം ജന്മിമാക്ക് പ്രാതിനിധ്യം നല്കുന്ന ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് വേലക്കാക്കു പ്രാതിനിധ്യം നൽകുന്ന കാര്യം ആലോചിയ്ക്കുന്നതായിപോലും കാണുന്നില്ല. ആസന്നമായ നിയമസഭാപരിഷ്കാരം ഈ പുരുങ്ങിയ പരിഷ്കാരങ്ങളെയെങ്കിലും ഉൾക്കൊള്ളിക്കുമെന്നു വിശ്വസിച്ചുകൊണ്ടും, കരുണാനിധിയായ മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് ജനങ്ങളുടെ ശരിയായ ക്ഷേമം വളർത്തി ചിരകാലം ജീവിക്കട്ടെ!! എന്നു പ്രാർത്ഥിച്ചുകൊണ്ടും അവസാനിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ.

Mr. A. I. Mani.—Mr. President, Sir, before I proceed to make some observations on the Budget, I wish to convey to His Highness the Maharaja and to you, Sir, the thanks of the people of my constituency for the privilege conferred on this House to put supplementary questions and also for the proposed extension of franchise. These progressive stages in the development of our constitution are positive indications of His Highness' ardent desire to widen the scope of responsible Government in our dear State and I am fully confident that all the demands urged by the Progressive Party will, ere long, be conceded to this House.

Now, Sir, it is gratifying to note that we have a surplus Budget in spite of the world-wide economic depression. Most of the departments have been fairly provided for without imparing efficiency. But, Sir, it cannot but be said that many useful items have been omitted or ignored. Adequate provision ought to have been made for them. We find that the Economic Development Committee is suspended. There is practically no provision made for the development of trade and industry. The financial prosperity of the country largely depends upon the advancement of trade and commerce and it is, Sir, high time to have a Department of Commerce and Industry. There are very many new industries in the State. Some of them are, sugar, cement, soap, candle and matches. All these industries are handicapped now for want of sufficient funds and proper encouragement. It is necessary to father these infant industries. We have to encourage them by financing them, by giving them expert opinion and by protecting them to ward off unfair and unhealthy foreign competition. Mysore and Hydrabad have begun to patronise indigenous industries and they have started a propaganda work for "Buy Swadeshi Goods". I mean goods

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made in their States. It will not be imprudent on our part if we also encourage home industries.

It is to foster the interests of trade and industry that I advocate the establishment of an Industries Department. This department will be inevitable in the face of the development of the Harbour and the Railway. Therefore it is better to anticipate it now.

In this connection let me make an appeal to you, Sir, for the restoration of the commercial seat of this Council. If there is a Jenmi member to look after the vested interests of the landowners and agriculturists it is just and reasonable that there should be two seats for commerce, one for the north and the other for the south as in Travancore, to represent the commercial interests of the State.

Then, it is to be said to the credit of the Finance Member that he proposes to find funds for the Railway and the Harbour by raising Government loans. These are schemes which will benefit the future generations as well and capital outlays should not as a rule be met out of current incomes. It has been the invariable practice of all modern progressive States to borrow money for productive projects. The Finance Member is to be congratulated for this.

Education. I wish to make a few observations on Education. There is no gainsaying the fact that the tone and traditions regarding the standard and efficiency of the education of the State has been jealously guarded and maintained by the Director of Public Instruction. Yet there is ample scope for improvement and development in the number of schools, in the matter of grants and in the attitude towards aided institutions.

In the matter of recognition especially of primary schools, a more liberal policy is to be pursued. I know, as a matter of fact, that the Thalakottukara Church School which has sufficient strength in all the divisions of all the four classes with a suitable building for their comfortable accommodation is not given recognition as yet. The strength of this school is made up of the poor labouring classes, of the Pulayas and the depressed classes also. To defer recognition in this particular case is to deny them primary education. This state of affairs, Sir, is rather deplorable.

The Hon'ble Member for Education admits that "there have been persistent demands for new schools and classes." But he 'considers the existing schools sufficient to satisfy the educational needs of our State." I cannot see eye to eye with the Director in this matter. With the rapid increase of population and with the growing desire for education among the masses, the existing institutions are inadequate.

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With regard to the policy of the Government towards aided schools in the State, I have only to suggest the well-known policy enunciated by such illustrious administrators as Sir P. Rajagopalachari and Sir Albion Banerji.

Then, Sir, if as a result of the proposed educational Survey intended to effect a fair distribution of the centres of educational institutions and with a view to establish an effective check and control over the mismanagement of schools or on other grounds, more appointments are to be ever made, I should strongly recommend the Director of Public Instruction to consider the claims of aided school teachers in view of their past and present services in the cause of education. It is worthwhile, Sir, to remember in this connection that about 75 per cent of the education of the State is carried on by private agencies—a great relief to the State. If direct recruitments from the Bar are made after consulting the Judges into the Judicial Department, I do not find why efficient teachers from among the aided school teachers should not be drafted into the teaching and inspecting Staff of the Education Department on the recommendations of the Managers' Association. This would be a real encouragement in the right direction.

A few words, Sir, on the half-time system followed in our schools. This system has been in vogue for long. The teachers under this system are asked to work for extra hours and they were promised extra remuneration—an allowance of Rs. 5. It is a pity that these ill-paid but hard worked teachers have not yet been paid anything. Why delay this Peter's pence?

A word more on the Medical Inspection of schools and I have done with Education. The system as introduced is seriously defective in that it has not provided for the medical treatment of those pupils found to be sickly. Now they examine pupils and give them advice. These inspections and advice are not sufficient. If this system of medical inspection is to be successful and effective, it is considered necessary that clinics should be attached to schools where pupil could be medically treated. If pupils found to be sickly are treated then and there it would help the growth of strong and vigorous citizens useful to the State. If the diseases detected are allowed to be neglected in the initial stages there is the great danger of contagion and widespread distress among the student population.

Coming to *Medicine*, I have very little to offer. Any how, I am glad to find that the Government have begun to realise the importance of the Ayurvedic system and begun to encourage it. A fairly decent amount is set apart for this system of treatment.

Then, with regard to the Medical Inspectors of schools: These Inspectors are now without any establishment. They

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have neither an office nor a peon. The ordinary school Inspectors are provided with all the necessary conveniences for their work. Even the Labour Inspector to be appointed is to be furnished with a peon. I don't think that the work, position and status of these Medical Inspectors are in any way inferior to those of the other departmental Inspectors. As such it would be unjust and unreasonable if they are not provided for to carry on their work quickly and efficiently.

Public Works Department.—I should like to draw the attention of the Government, Sir, to the hap-hazard way of doing things in this department in the matter of road construction. If a road has been found necessary, sanctioned and the work undertaken and the major portion of it completed, I can't understand why the rest of the portion should be delayed especially when the expenditure for the latter half is very small. I refer to a road in my constituency—the new road from Chalakkudi to Pariyaram through Archanom Padom. I have absolutely no complaint against any road maintained by the Department. They are all in perfect order.

Another point I wish to bring to the notice of the Government, Sir, is the second rate importance given to irrigation. Primary consideration is given not to irrigation, but to civil and mechanical engineering. This is not a desirable thing at all. Agriculture is our main stay. So all sorts of facilities must be given to works of irrigation. There is now no separate department for irrigation. There is only a temporary division. A permanent irrigation section is essentially necessary. An officer in temporary charge for irrigation is not likely to take an abiding interest in the affairs. Big irrigation schemes requiring pains and patience are not likely to be undertaken by a temporary establishment and it is not possible also for such officers. Therefore, it is better that a permanent irrigation section is made at once.

Lastly I come to *Excise.* The policy of the State is said to be one of total prohibition. Yet the Government proposes to make money by the sale of arrack and toddy. This is a nefarious trade. The foaming pot is the centre of all the crimes in the State. It saps the life of youths, outrages the innocence of loving wives, makes the doctor busy in his office, and the priest weary in his confessional. It is the wreck of manhood and the despair of old age. Crime and poverty are the twins of this infernal cup. Such being the case, Sir, I am at a loss to understand why we should pursue such an excise policy.

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Mr. Popatlal Goverdhan Lalan.—Sir, while I must congratulate the Finance Member for his preparing a true and clean Budget, I regret to see the cuts in the salaries, new taxations and heavy sinking funds for balancing the budget, which is a new record in the history of the present Cochin Durbar. I feel sorry in seeing the present stage of financial state regarding the deficit occurred comparing with the previous budgets which have surplus amounts. I agree with the words of the Hon'ble Members of this House that the Government have washed out the surplus amount which is collected from the subjects. Is it not the duty of the Government to utilise it for the sincere benefit of the subjects of the State? And if it is not utilised properly, may I know who is responsible for the same? I shall mention here that there is nobody responsible to answer.

Now, going through the budget for 1108, I think, in view of the present world-wide depression we can balance the budget without any fresh taxation and salary cuts, by minimising the various items reasonably. It is often the case in all parts of the world that the Government try to save the subjects from depression, famines, etc., but not burden them with further taxation and cut in salaries, etc. The ornamental investments such as building castles and public houses, ought to have been stopped, waiting for a better financial sunshine. I therefore, Sir, request the House to minimise as far as possible, certain unnecessary large amounts, appearing in the budget. I think it is possible for the Government, if Government wish to render some help to the subjects, by utilising the revenue with the utmost care and in the proper way, during these days.

Military.—I draw the attention of the Government to the item—Military. I see, an amount of Rs. 10,000 has been allotted for the purchase of horses, which in my opinion, can safely be avoided for the present. It is an ornamental provision for the State. It is not advisable to go in for horses, as luxury and grandeur could be avoided during these days when the State subjects are very badly affected. It is not only the Rs. 10,000 for the purchase of horses that has to be met, but also the maintenance—salaries of horsemen, feeding, stables and other charges waiting behind the curtain, to jump on the stage, as soon as the horses are purchased.

Public Works.—Then coming to 'Public Works' huge sums have been provided for. In this connection, I beg to request that works which are of utmost necessity and importance and which cannot be avoided at all may be conducted and carried on as carefully and economically as possible.

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Water Works.—I am glad that the Government have allotted a fair sum for the purpose of water supply in Mattancheri. The arrangement for water supply in Mattancheri, is indeed, one worthy of mention and which one can never forget. I beg to express herein the gratitude we have towards His Gracious Highness, for having made this life-long arrangement by which His loyal subjects have obtained some relief. There would have been no cause for me to state here, that, people are yet subject to scarcity of water often, as the water intended for distribution among His loyal subjects, is some times supplied to steamers in Port keeping the barges dancing in backwater waiting for foreign steamers to anchor. While the State subjects are crying for water to drink, without which they cannot manage, the Government selling water to steamers, is rather marring the good, His Highness has done to the public. I don't object to the Government's supplying water to the steamers, but it is extremely painful, that they do forget the public needs, while striking the bargain with steamer agents. This kind of treatment is something akin to the proverb "ശീവാൻ വരം കൊടുത്താലും മൂശാരിക്ക് വയറ്റിൽ വേദന".

The matter was reported to the authorities concerned, on more than one occasion by letters and telegrams, but all of them unfortunately found a convenient seat in the waste paper basket. I am led to think, so long as no replies were received to such letters and telegrams, such is the state of affairs, when matters are placed before the authorities direct. What more the public have to do in this connection and to whom they should approach for relief for drinking water even, the benevolent Government will kindly consider over. However, I trust, that the Honourable Member will do everything possible to see that whatever amount the Government spend over the water supply goes direct to the use of the inhabitants of Mattancheri and that they are free from the constant scarcity of water resulting from the bargain they make with steamer people.

Medicines.—Under this heading, I see the amount allowed this time, is higher than that, for the last year, while the Sanitary Department has been separated from that of Medicines I request therefore that the amount may be minimised as far as possible and utilised for necessary requirements

Education.—The provision made for this year is something more than what it was for last year. The Government promised last time to make arrangements for a High School at Mattancheri, where admission will be open to all communities, but so far, no arrangements even, for the purpose of acquisition

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have been yet made in the budget. My constituency would like to see the Government conduct this work, as early as possible, as it is a disgrace to all to hear that the important town of Mattancheri is without a High School to give proper education to its inhabitants, in these days of civilisation.

Commerce.—I beg to bring to the notice of the Government herein again, with much regret that they have not taken the least trouble to consider to call upon a commercial body for the solution of the present trade depression and economic conditions, as has been done, in our sister State of Travancore. I assure, that if these means are adopted, much relief can be obtained by the agriculturists and tradesmen of the State in exports and imports. It will be absolutely necessary for the Government to get the necessary commercial statistics and reports from the merchants, while they are investing huge sums in Railway and Harbour schemes.

In conclusion, Sir, I have to say that the Government will be pleased to settle the question of jurisdiction, only after consulting this House, as it is of utmost importance for the furture progress of the State and further I hope that the question will not be treated like the previous one, namely, the Port Limit question which was disposed of without consulting this House.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—Sir, before I begin I have to express my disappointment, or rather my sorrow, that some of the Hon'ble Members who offered their valuable criticisms are not present here to hear the reply on the Government side. That is a disappointment that we all must feel and I hope that in course of time there will not be room for such disappointment.

Now, Sir, time is always on the move, and it has come again for me to lead the discussion of the official side of the House. Last year at about this time I paid a compliment to the dignified manner in which the discussions and deliberations are carried on in this House and the superior quality of the speeches made by the non-official Members. I also said that everything good in the world would come in good time, and that as time progressed responsibility would be our share and that when the time comes for us to get responsible Government in the place of the very liberal responsive Government that we are now having, our people would be prepared to undertake their responsibilities and I fervently hoped and prayed that this House would produce politicians and statesmen of the type of Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, the late C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru. I am very glad, Sir, that my hope has been fulfilled. Though

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in some quarters, it was said, rather silently, that I flattered the non-official gentlemen with the object of escaping their criticisms, I do not plead guilty to this charge. I sincerely gave expression to my own fervent and sincere hope that our House would produce such statesmen and would co-operate with the Government in the responsible task of carrying on the everyday administration. Have not my hopes been fulfilled? Have not our non-official Members shown their dignity, demonstrated their sense of responsibility in co-operating with us when we approached them with a request to give us extra revenue for carrying on our capital works? Did they not all heartily co-operate (with a few exceptions) and respond to the call and permit us to proceed with the Income-tax Bill? In the speeches that we heard yesterday and this morning, most of them, with one or two exceptions, almost all of them, have approved of the action of the Government in going in for fresh taxation. Is this not responsible co-operation? Therefore, I must say that my prayerful hope has been realised, and I do hope that in course of time, our non-official Members will continue to exercise that spirit of responsible co-operation and will see things eye to eye with the Government.

After making this preliminary observation about the co-operation that we got from our friends on the other side, I turn my attention to other topics. As I have said already, you have *responsive* Government here though not responsible Government in the full sense of the term. You have a responsive Government. Which proposal of this Council, seriously made, has till now been vetoed by the Government? We have responded to almost everything and thus you have a responsive Government. There was a resolution for cuts in salaries. Government have responded to it. There was a resolution to have an Ayurvedic hospital. Government have responded to that also. You cannot find in the whole of India a more responsive Government than our Government. And I am sure all those who are present here, both officials and non-officials, must congratulate themselves on having a responsive Government and a Ruler who is a Constitutional Sovereign, as I had the honour to say day before yesterday. So you have a responsive Government. Whatever reasonable proposals you bring to the notice of the Government, we welcome and do our best to carry them out, if found to be in the interests of the people. We always consider that our interests are identical with yours and we are ever ready to respond to them. If in individual cases we do not respond, it is in your own interests and not in our own interests, and I have also said that the non-official Members are as much public servants as we

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are. Our income is from the same source, the product of labour, intellectual or physical, of our people. We get the produce by their labour. Therefore, there is no clash of interests between the officials and non-officials, and I feel supremely happy to see such a state of affairs, and I hope and pray that it will continue for a long time to come. Then, so far as constitutional reforms are concerned, one point I must mention here. Government have not been very much criticised for slackness in this direction. In most cases compliment has been given for the Government for their action. There are a few intelligent suggestions made and I shall deal with them one by one. You have already been given some concessions, the most vital one being the broadening of the franchise. We have set up our machinery to gather particulars and we have called for comprehensive lists of people who pay an assessment of one rupee or more, whether as landholders, jenmies or Devaswam tenants. We have already begun to work in that direction, and probably the inequalities in some of the existing constituencies also might have to be set right, when the preliminary electoral rolls are prepared. We have thus to undertake the rectification of certain inequalities that we have found now in the actual working of the constituencies. All these matters will receive the earnest attention of the Government in the near future. The Hon'ble Member for Palliviruthi made a suggestion that the whole thing might be gone into by a Committee. That suggestion has been noted. Government have not had time to consider that seriously. Anyhow that suggestion has been made by the Hon'ble Member for Palliviruthi, and it will receive due consideration. We are all interested in getting first a very exhaustive and accurate electoral roll with as low a franchise as possible, and with all the constituencies equalised by the number of voters as far as possible.

Now, I turn to another constitutional matter. I felt rather sad when a number of members asked for an Executive Council. The system of Executive Council is about to end soon elsewhere. The last days of the system are in sight. Everywhere in British Provinces the system is considered to be antediluvian and when provincial autonomy is introduced, it will be found that Executive Councils are done away with. There will be a cabinet of ministers appointed from the members of the party in power with responsibility to the legislature. That is the goal. Now, Sir, at a time like this you ask for an Executive Council when such Councils are about to be abolished in the British Provinces. What you should aim at, though the realisation of the aim may not be reached in the near future and may be a matter for some distant future, should be a cabinet of ministers respon-

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sible to the Council and not for an Executive Council. If I were on the other side, I would press for a ministry or cabinet taken from the party in power. Of course these are matters for the distant future, and I give you only my personal views. Pray, do not consider this as the views of Government. Therefore, the formation of the Executive Council is not the reform to be pressed for at this time. As I said, sooner or later responsible Government must come in all the Indian States. It may not be to-morrow or day after to-morrow. It may take some time. Our object must be to work towards that goal ; try to get responsible Government to get a cabinet of ministers.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—It is a stepping stone.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—Ideas are changing, most rapidly fluctuating every 5 minutes.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Self-Government ?

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—That will take some time. As I said, everything must come in good time. So, you should not ask for anything else. Executive Council is an old institution. It is dying out. It will die out in course of time. So, what you should aim at is a responsible cabinet. Again I say these are my personal views.

Deputy President.—Should there be any time limit for Government Members ?

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—We have come to the conclusion that only five of us want to speak. I suppose we have time.

Deputy President.—One hour you can enjoy.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—As I have the good fortune of being treated as the Leader of the House, I shall say all that we have to say in the way of reply and if there are any points that I have not touched, the other Members will explain. That is what I am doing. I suppose the House is not disgusted with me.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—We are enjoying.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—One Hon'ble Member wanted the restoration of the constituency for commerce and industry. Well, as I said before, we have to reconstitute all those constituencies along with the broadening of the franchise and the question of having a constituency for commerce and industry is engaging the attention of the Government.

On the subject of constitutional reforms there is one more point to which I must take the liberty to draw your attention. I suppose my friends here had occasion to read the speech made by His Excellency the Governor of Madras day before yesterday

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in opening the last Session of the Legislative Council. This is a very significant question which His Excellency put to the Council, and we may also be benefited by that. We may also ponder over it and see how we can answer it and benefit ourselves by His Excellency's advice. This is the question put by His Excellency: "As the people of the Presidency get "more political consciousness, will political questions cut across "caste and creed or will caste and creed predominate over political "questions?" "That is a question that I am of course surely in-"competent to answer and I venture to think that you, gentlemen, "would not care to prophesy what the future may bring forth in "this connection. But it is a question that is likely to be fraught "with such far-reaching consequences, for a Presidency and when "it does arise. That is also a question that we here in our limited "sphere will also have to answer in course of time". I suppose it is only appropriate that I should bring this valuable observation, made by His Excellency the Governor, to the notice of this House, so that we may also ponder over it and try to arrive at a satisfactory solution in dealing with our communal problems. I have now fully dealt with the point of constitutional reforms.

Coming to another point and that is taking the public into our confidence in deciding important matters. Most of the Hon'ble Members complained that they have not been taken into confidence in regard to the negotiations connected with the Harbour and Railway. You all know that when matters are in a stage of incubation, it is not proper to let them out. If we do so, we will be breaking confidence with the other parties to the negotiation, and we will be landed in unforeseen difficulties. We have to be very careful. But when the time comes for taking the people into confidence, they are sure to be so taken. So far nothing has been hidden from the people. There is the Harbour before you with the bar cut open and with ocean-going steamers anchoring in the inner harbour or backwater. The four party agreement was entered in 1925. It appeared then in public print. The terms of that agreement are well known to all. We have not kept them secret. All the information available was given from time to time in the budget memorandum and Finance Member's speeches explaining the budgets of 1101 onwards. There was no omission to refer to the investments on Harbour and Railway in any of our budgets.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—The figures were there.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—The figures are pregnant with meaning. They explain briefly the money spent, and on what it was spent. Again I say it has been published in papers and statements have been made from time to

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time. The main features of our participation are well known to our subjects. We also gave to the press the masterly memorandum presented by our Diwan to the States Enquiry Committee in February last.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Your participation consisted only in giving money.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—Not at all. Participation includes also money partnership, and what a partnership means, is a matter of common knowledge.

Mr. George Chakyamuri.—Our complaint is that there is no authoritative information conveyed to us.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—There is authoritative information in the memorandum that the Diwan presented to the Indian States Enquiry Committee. That memorandum was laid before the public. That contains all the information available in a nut shell. If you wish I shall explain in a few words what our participation indicates. If you will have the patience to hear me, I shall explain in a few words. There is nothing that you do not know. Well, there is the Harbour, there is the bar. The bar was not open in the past. It has been opened now. And then I must tell you the different stages by which the work was done. The Government of Madras took up the scheme first, they spent some money in conducting some investigations and also in constructing some protective works against erosion. All this took place before 1920. It was at this stage that Mr. Bristow was appointed as Harbour Engineer-in-Chief. He investigated the whole scheme and as a result of his preliminary investigation, an experiment of cutting open was ordered to be conducted, and an experiment of cutting open a small canal across the bar costing 9 laks of rupees was made by Mr. Bristow. The cost was divided equally among Cochin, Travancore and Madras Governments. The idea then was, that the moment the experiment proved to be successful, they must go to the second stage of developments. This stage is known as the third stage. Before the experiment there was a preliminary stage. The investigations previously conducted by the Government of Madras D. P. W. is known as the first stage. The stage of experiment successfully and creditably carried out by Mr. Bristow is known as the second stage. The experiment, having proved to be a success, the bar was got opened in order that all ocean-going steamers might enter the inner Harbour and discharge at the moorings provided there. That stage of the scheme was financed out of the revenues of the Port derived merely from the shipping and landing fund, by loans granted by the Government of India and also the cost of Venduruthy reclamation realised from

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us under the agreement. The Harbour authorities undertook to reclaim 250 acres for us to the north of the Venduruthy island at our cost. That part of the scheme has now been carried out. We see steamers entering into the inner Harbour. About 225 acres have been reclaimed. There yet remains the fourth stage of works to be carried out in order to convert the Port into a first class Harbour. Several capital works have to be undertaken. The details connected with this stage are still in the process of negotiation, and I am not competent nor will I be justified to make any statement now, as to what progress we have made in the negotiations. The public will be informed as soon as a decision is arrived at, and as already indicated in the Finance Member's speech, the first part of the 4th stage will cost about 90 lakhs of which we have to bear out a third, about 30 lakhs. Provision has been made for 10 lakhs of rupees for this purpose in the budget estimate of 1108. So far the public has been informed of all that has been finally and definitely decided. The 4th stage, to teil you briefly, will include the construction of a big Railway bridge connecting Ernakulam with Venduruthy, the extension of the Railway to Venduruthy from the broad gauge and metre gauge, sidings, wharfs, godowns, docks and other things necessary to convert the port into a first class terminal port. That will be the first part of the 4th stage. Estimates are only under preparation. When the whole thing is completed certainly the people will be taken into confidence. This cannot be done secretly. There is absolutely no intention to hide what we have done. But we can make a statement only after all the negotiations are over, and a definite agreement is arrived at.

In regard to jurisdiction, we are determined not to cede it over even one cent of land. 9/10ths of the port of Cochin belongs to the Cochin State; only 1/10th to British India. You will please realise that, if the whole of the port is Cochin territory, we have to describe geographically the limits of the port for administrative purposes. Some Hon'ble Members seem to have misunderstood the object with which the Port limits have been defined now. In the States of Navanagar, Baroda, and everywhere else, you will see, though the Ports belong exclusively to these States, the limits have got to be defined for administrative purposes. We have agreed to the delimitation of the limits, on the distinct understanding that it does not imply cessation of jurisdiction of any kind or consent to the levy of new taxes by Port authorities. So be rest assured that we will not be deprived of any of the administrative, executive, legislative, fiscal or judicial jurisdiction, over the areas declared

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as Port limits. We have made that point absolutely clear, and for this no one deserves more credit than our Diwan Mr. Herbert who has throughout conducted himself more patriotically than a born Cochinite, nay than even a born Indian. I may assure you once for all that we will never hand over our jurisdiction even over one square foot of land or [illegible]. We are absolutely certain about that, and when negotiations are completed you will have no cause for apprehension or any misgiving, in this direction. The speeches that you have made in this Council will all be published. The outside public will know what your feelings are in the matter, and that you will never allow your Government to hand over the jurisdiction. Jurisdiction is not a thing that can be handed over by one individual, by a stroke of the pen, or by one word of mouth. It is a most serious matter. I wonder why our Council, full of such intelligent people, can suspect such a thing will be done.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—But there is a Davidson!

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—The recommendations of the Davidson Committee have not escaped our attention. They are only recommendations, and not decisions. We have his Majesty's Government. We have the British House of Parliament. We have the Secretary of State for India. We have His Excellency the Viceroy. We have the Chamber of Princes. And above all, we have our own people. Why should we have any apprehension?

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—That must be your strength.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—We are glad that you have taken this point of view. You will all join with me in paying a tribute to the Diwan for the very masterly stand he took and the very effective way in which he had championed our cause. He had the help of eminent Lawyers, Sir, Chimanlal Setalwad and Mr. Jayakar—I mean, Mr. Jayakar of the Sapru-Jayakar fame, who conducted negotiations between Mr. Gandhi and Lord Irwin.

Mr. George Chakyamuri.—There was no 'Jayam'.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—I am not in a position to disclose the further developments of that case. Jayam, we have in a way. There is no finality in a matter like this.

Mr. P. Krishna Menon.—One word with regard to the Rs.3,000 in paragraph 11 of the Finance Member's speech.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—The Harbour authorities undertook to reclaim 250 acres at our cost. Then the question merely was what our cost would be. The Government of Madras and the harbour authorities wanted to

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get at the rate of 10 annas per ton of soil dumped into the reclamation area. We objected to that and after a good deal of negotiation, we brought down the cost of reclamation to Rs. 12,000 per acre from the original demand of about Rs. 22,000 per acre. It was also agreed to, as a matter of compromise then that when the Harbour development becomes an accomplished fact and when the regular practice of ocean-going steamers entering the inner harbour and discharging at the moorgings at the backwaters, becomes established, the Durbar should pay Rs. 3,000 more per acre in view of the lands becoming valuable. Thus there is an agreement on the part of the Government by way of promise to pay Rs. 3,000 more per acre.

Then the next question is Commerce and Industry. Some Hon'ble Members have deplored that the Government have not yet organised a department of Commerce and Industry. What can a department do? It can only swell the budget. We can appoint an officer. We can give him three or four clerks, and four or five peons. Without the active co-operation of the mercantile community it is not possible for a department to do any work. What do they do in other countries? All those who are interested in the development of commerce and industry must organise themselves. They must do a lot of propaganda work. They must go outside the State, find out how commerce is progressing, in what way we can divert trade to our Cochin Port, in what way we can divert trade to our Broad-gauge Railway. Without the co-operation of the mercantile community the department can only result in spending more money. We do not want to spend your money by simply appointing an officer. When a new department is organised you will come and ask questions. Those who are actually engaged in commerce and industry must think and find out in what tangible manner they can make use of the activities of Government in converting your metre-gauge railway into broad-gauge and connecting it without any break of bulk with Mangalore and Madras and what use may be made of the Harbour. And all those who are engaged in commerce and industry should think about it and ask Government what kind of help they want from the Government, and what statistics they require from the Government; then your money can be spent in organising a department. Why do you want to spend your money (Government money is your money) by appointing an officer? That is the view that you have to take as regards the department of commerce. I would appeal to all young men and all those gentlemen who have no employment to ponder over this matter, find out in what way

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they can find employment in this direction. There is no use of a department.

Before proceeding to answer the criticisms about my own department I shall say a few words about agriculture. We have a department of Agriculture and I entirely agree with some of the Members that the good work that the agricultural department is doing in their farms, the useful experiments that they are conducting, all these things have not been made known to the public in that intensive manner in which it ought to be done. I myself visited some time before and I have requested the Superintendent of Agriculture to devise some means by which knowledge may be usefully disseminated amongst the agricultural classes. There is the scheme of demonstration on private jenmies' lands. For that, very rightly, the Hon'ble Member for Urakam had asked for more allotment and I am sure that it will receive the earnest consideration of the Government. That about the propaganda of agriculture.

About the land mortgage bank, the suggestion made is already engaging the attention of the Government, and we are waiting to see how our finances could be adjusted to find out some money necessary to give a sort of working capital for the land mortgage bank. I gave the views of the Government a few weeks ago. We are going to watch the progress of our financial career with a view to see whether any funds can be set apart for that purpose having regard to our commitments and having regard to our requirements. That is for the land mortgage bank. The question is receiving our attention, and I am going to have a discussion on this matter with the Hon'ble Member for Finance and also the Registrar of Co-operative Societies.

Then I come to my own department. There is the chorus always sung, "you have got too many Parvathiakarans, do away with them." This is not the time to make any reduction though it may appear paradoxical. This is the time when no reduction of establishment can be thought of, because your revenue has got to be collected. We want agents to collect your money. This is not the time. But still that question is engaging our attention, whether we can advantageously, without interfering with the efficiency of the department, reduce the number of Parvathiakarans, having regard to the fact that they will have to be employed in the collection of income-tax and also in the preparation of the new electoral roll. Can their number be reduced diminishing the utility of the services they now render to the State? We are considering that question and when we find that the services

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rendered will not in any way be diminished by reducing the number, we will reduce them. That is one point about land revenue.

Then there is another thing about the land revenue which is rather paradoxical and which I find it very difficult for myself to explain. After all, you will see from the budget of 1108 that the revenue is 83·6 lakhs. Out of this the land revenue amounts only to 12·18 lakhs or nearly one-seventh of the whole. As I said on another occasion half of this land revenue is paid by men in position, mostly big landlords. The number of small pattadars is comparatively less than the big land holders. I cannot but wonder when I hear Hon'ble Members saying that the land revenue here is grinding and that the taxation is heavier in our State than elsewhere. In my official capacity I have had occasion to know the rate prevailing in Travancore and British Malabar, because we possess large extents of land there. I can also quote facts and figures to show that incidence of our taxation is not larger than that of Travancore or British Malabar. The State is also a jenmi in Travancore and Malabar and in my official capacity I know that our rates of taxation are small when compared to the tax we pay to the other Governments. Though I have got facts and figures to prove this, I do not want to enter into any controversy on this subject at present. My wonder therefore is how abkari, opium and ganja, that contribute to our revenue quite as largely as land revenue, being collected mainly from the poor labourers, can be reconciled with a complaint that land revenue is grinding the poor peasant cultivators. In the case of land revenue at least half of it we get from respectful jenmies and land holders. The abkari revenue is mainly received from the poor labourers and unless they are in a position to get good wages that amount will not be realised. Therefore I say the position is rather paradoxical. There is no unmixed evil in this world. Their wages have not been reduced, they earn some money, they get paddy and rice cheap and whatever they save they spend in eating and drinking. How can you say that the land taxes are grinding them? I wonder what you mean when you say that the poor agriculturists are denied their rights and are suffering from this oppressive taxation. They themselves know that it is the poor labourers who go and resort to the toddy shops and not the big landlords. This position is paradoxical and I cannot find a satisfactory explanation. I only want just to place this before the Council so that you may ponder over it before you make any observation with regard to any kind of taxation. Consider the whole thing to find out such a paradoxical crisis even condition exists anywhere else as in Cochin and find out any solution that we can adopt. That is only a problem that I wanted to place

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before you. Revenue from both the sources is the same; there is not much difference.

Now I reply my friend the Hon'ble Member for Kattur. He referred large destruction of Puncha crops by drought in the Muriyad Lake, Karlam and Kattur. During the time the Puncha cultivation was in progress, I happened to visit the locality. During the month of Kumbham when this Council was in Session, the Karlam and Kattur ryots complained that the level of water had gone down and therefore water did not flow through the distributory channels and that steam engines ought to be installed in order that water might be pumped up. I went to the place and inquired into the matter and found that their request for an engine should be complied with. I at once asked my friend the Chief Engineer, to go and he so readily responded. The very next day he ordered an engine to be installed and after three days some more people from Kattur came to me and requested that another steam engine might also be installed. There was no funds available for all these, but the Chief Engineer, so readily, the moment I wrote to him, installed another steam engine. All the water available there was pumped up and let into Karlam lands and the Karlam people got their water and they were able to harvest their crops. They came and thanked me for the action so promptly taken. On the other hand some people from the Urakam constituency came and told me of the pumping and giving the water to the people of the Mukundapuram Taluk, and that unless we close the mouth of the Chirakkal Thodu, the water available in the Thodu will go to Mukundapuram Taluk and will prejudice the Inchamudi Puncha lands to the north, in the Trichur Taluk. They came and complained like that. My friend the Chief Engineer inquired into the matter and reported that the complaint of the Chirakkal Thodu people was exaggerated and that we should give more water to the Karlam and Kattur villages. I know there was plenty of water available in the Karlam village. There was not any serious loss of crops in the Muriyad Lake of the Mukundapuram Taluk. The Tahsildar who enquired into the matter replied they were not completely destroyed, though the yield might have been reduced by one or two folds. There was no widespread destruction to justify remission. They were told so and the whole assessments have been collected. There was no request or prayer from any of those people to the effect that there was widespread calamity and that there was necessity for a wholesale remission just as I did in the beginning of the year to the extent of Rs. 12,000 for lands affected by floods. There was no occasion for remis-

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sion for Puncha and we had satisfied ourselves that there was no serious damage. One man from Karlam came to me and said, I do not know whether he is the same man who wrote the letter to the Hon'ble Member, the ryots in Karlam are able to harvest the crops and what he wanted was that his son should be given a post. He came and said, "Here is my son; I am obliged to sell everything and I sold everything to educate him up to B. A. He has passed his B. A. ഇവ ചൊക്കനെ ഒരു ഉദ്യോഗം കൊടുക്കണം". Probably he may have pledged for some other purpose but not for paying land revenue. I may assure the Hon'ble Member that so far as the Puncha lands of the Mukundapuram Taluk are concerned, I can assure him on behalf of myself and on behalf of the Government that we had done our best and that there was no failure of crop there.

Mr. P. S. Kesavan Nambudiri.—The Registrar of Panchayats has visited the place and he has reported.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—I have seen the place myself. The matter has already ended. We had no request except from the Karlam people and we readily responded to them.

Then comes Agricultural loans. It is true there was some complaint that loans for improvement of land were not freely granted for want of allotment. The Government gave me at first an allotment of Rs. 20,000 in the beginning of the year. All this sum of Rs.20,000 was utilised in distributing a large number of very small loans among the people of the flood stricken area for the purchase of seed, cattle, etc., and for relief of distress. This sum was found insufficient to satisfy the demands of all the poor ryots in the flood affected area. Another sum of Rs. 15,000 was requested for and the Government readily granted it. This amount was also distributed in the flood stricken area. It is of course true that the people in those localities were not able to enjoy the benefit of this.

These are the facts that I wish to place before you. I have dealt with most of the criticisms and I conclude by requesting all once more for giving us hearty co-operation and for treating us as your brothers and to love us and also to realise that our interests are identical with those of yours.

Mr. George Chakyamuri.—The Hon'ble Member made a statement that you will not part with an inch of ground to the British. Is that the Hon'ble Member's private opinion or the opinion of the Government?

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—It is the opinion of all of us who are conducting the Government.

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Mr. I. N. Menon.—Mr. President, Sir, though I may forget the clock I cannot forget the calendar at home. I must try to finish my speech as soon as possible to leave some time for my Hon'ble colleagues. Fortunately for me most of the points raised in the general discussion on the Budget so far as they relate to the departments of Education or Industries, find a place in a different form of cut motions of which I think I have received the first lot of a hundred or so and a second, I am told, is coming. The general discussion on the Budget gravitated round three main points fiscal, constitutional, and administrative. My Hon'ble friend, the Leader of the House, has dealt with the fiscal as well as the constitutional points and some of the administrative ones, so that my task can be confined to a few brief remarks on some of the administrative troubles on which attention has been focussed. With regard to the fiscal aspect also I may be allowed to make a passing remark. It appears to me Sir, that there is some confusion about these 'cuts' and 'income-tax.' I cannot understand why any one at all should be anxious of the *source* of the income taxed, whether it comes from the land or from the blue or from the salaries which is to be taxed. It is not the source that matters. So I cannot understand why there should be so much of anxiety that the cut should outlast the income-tax. But, I do not mean that the Hon'ble Members who trotted it out really meant so.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—We do.

Mr. I. N. Menon.—That it should outlast income-tax?

Dr. A. R. Menon.—No, no.

Mr. I. N. Menon.—About the constitutional reforms, I am not competent to speak and they have been adverted to at great length by the Hon'ble Leader of the House. I do not mean to mar the freshness of his remarks by anything that I may have to say. So I confine myself to a few points relating to the departments of Education and Industries. Even here I am not touching all the points because, as I said, they may come up again in the shape of cut motions. There is the last question of taking over of all the Primary schools to the Government management. It is too large a question to be discussed in reply to the general observations made on the Budget by the Hon'ble Members of this House. I can only say at this stage, that this question has been discussed at great length in the report which is now being submitted to the Government on the Survey and it is proposed to have a committee appointed to enquire into the possibility of taking over all these schools or dealing with them otherwise.

The Hon'ble Member for Mulakunnathukavu referred to one sad feature of education, namely, the fall in the attendance and strength of schools. The administration report in which

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these figures find a place itself has explained the cause. The fall in attendance is partly due to the economic depression and partly due to a sense or feeling that higher education is not leading any one to any good results; and therefore I should say it is giving a right bias to education from my own point of view. And lastly, with regard to adult schools the strength, I was told by the Hon'ble Member, has fallen a great deal. About adult schools or what are here called "night schools" I do not make any adverse remarks; about these night schools I may be permitted to say, even on first principles it is impossible to work institutions like the night schools in a country where there is no restriction in the hours of labour. From my experience of these institutions outside the State I think the only place or places where night schools can be worked with any degree of success are urban areas. (*Hear, hear*). It is very necessary to devise some other means of adult education until our system of elementary education becomes sufficiently fitted to eschew the necessity for adult education. We have to devise means for adult education in rural areas on different lines altogether. Another point not very seriously touched—but the point itself is serious—that is the question of abolishing Girls' High Schools where there is not enough strength—I shall submit to you, Sir, that the Code here unfortunately differs from the Code elsewhere. It makes no provision for backward tracts and backward areas; It is not right to judge a school or its necessity, for instance in some parts of the Chittur Taluk, mainly from its strength. It is very likely that a school probably in Trichur or in Cochin-Kanayannur may have much bigger strength than at Chittur. But from the point of view of educational necessity that school which has a nominal strength may be more necessary. (*Hear, hear.*) Numbers therefore are not the only factors determining the necessity or otherwise of a school. There are other factors also to be taken into account. With regard to the question of co-education in the upper secondary classes the problem has been discussed at some length. The opinion of educational experts outside the State has also been consulted; for instance, I have been fortunate enough in getting the opinion of a distinguished educationist like Mr. Statham, when he visited Cochin, who had been working on problems relating to elementary and secondary education for so many years. It is not right to say that just because the Girls' High School at Chittur has only a strength of 8 in the VI Form it is not necessary. That is not the main principle which we can follow.

Now Sir, I must turn to Industries. There is not much to say under this head. Point No. 1 is the futility of the present system of industrial education. Government realised the

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partial futility of this system of industrial education. A small departmental committee was appointed on which the Member for Planters was also present. We have a report drawn up and some evidence was taken and a proposal for the reorganisation of the industrial education was drawn up; but, unfortunately it had to be delayed or more accurately, held in abeyance because it involved the question of converting one of our present Trade schools into an institute of technology. But that meant money. Therefore, pending the question of converting the G. T. School, Trichur into an institute of technology the whole scheme is held up for the present. They are aware of the inadequacies of the present system and they have been trying to explore the possibilities of removing these deficiencies. But at present there appears more urgent needs to be met. Bad as this is we have been trying to make the best of it.

The second point about the department of Industries is that no provision has been made for a separate department of Commerce; and in addition to that it is complained that the existing Economic Development Committee has been temporarily suspended. I would invite the attention of this Hon'ble House to the discussion which took place last year when the Hon'ble Member for Trichur wanted to delete the whole provision for the Economic Development Committee because in his opinion it was doing no useful work. I do not mean to say the Government carried out the decision of the Hon'ble Member for Trichur in this respect. There is great necessity for some separate department of Industries which is not *amatuerish*. I frankly concede Sir, that the two big departments of Education and Industries cannot be dealt with, both of them equally efficiently, by a single Head. An educationist beginning to tamper with the department of Industry however well intentioned he may be is bound to be somewhat *amatuerish*. We cannot have a department of Commerce and Industry until we can see our way to finance it. As the Hon'ble the Leader of the House said it is not because that there is no need for this department that it is not organised. As a matter of fact I am quite sure a budget was framed for a separate department of Commerce and sent up to Government at their own request. But, unfortunately, along with the other development schemes this had to be held in abeyance for the present year. Sir, I have done. I have only to request the Hon'ble Members that even if the present budget has erred, we have erred on the side of prudence, and when all is said and done, Sir, it is not quite fair to judge the munificence of a Government or any other body by the standards it is compelled to adopt in times of great adversity.

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Mr. P. V. Subramania Ayyar.—Sir, in regard to the reply to the general discussion on the Budget my colleagues have much to say and I shall have nothing to say in addition to what they would have to say. Yet there are certain outstanding points on which my remarks may be quite pertinent. The Member for Trichur was taking serious objection to the provision for a sinking fund and interest charges in our Budget. As has been very elaborately mentioned by me in the Budget speech, the interest charges have become very essential so long as we have no capital to fall back upon when the question of loan is an inevitability. So long as there is loan, though temporary, interest also has to be provided for. There is no knowing when we shall have to go in for the loan next year. The principle of national loan involves the simultaneous provision for a sinking fund also. If there had been any omission in the matter of the sinking fund in any of our budgets containing proposal for a loan, the pertinent question would certainly have been asked why there was no provision for a sinking fund at all, in order to pay back the loan. The provision for sinking fund and interest charges is rightly made in the Budget.

Another question on which he was taking serious objection was why the surplus could not be used exclusively for expenditure in the years to come. Surpluses are never intended for expenditure on Revenue items, I mean, service Heads. Surpluses are always accidental. The principle of finance requires that only expenditure that is absolutely required for a specific year can be provided for by corresponding receipts. You cannot anticipate receipts or provide for receipts in excess of the expenditure required for the year. When therefore there are surpluses we can only consider them as merely accidental and cannot be used for any revenue expenditure. All along, therefore, this principle had been borne in mind and the surpluses were being utilised for capital works--Harbour and Railway alone.

Then, the Member for Trichur as well as the Member for Anthikad were making references that an expert for Railway and Harbour should be appointed. They urged why provision could not be made to engage an expert on the part of the Government, and why the principle followed by Travancore in having a Railway expert cannot be adopted here also. The Leader of the House has been telling you that the Harbour works are entirely in the hands of the Harbour authorities and no interference on our part by introducing an expert Engineer would be palatable to them, nor would it be allowed to be done in any stage of the works. Similarly in the case of Railway also estimates that have been already prepared were being subjected to the scrutiny at the hands of the Chief Engineer of the State

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and it was also being submitted for check by the examiner of Railway Accounts, Madras, in the usual course. The question raised is that there has been no expert opinion exercised over the estimates. But the above arrangements are safeguard enough for the purpose intended. Mention was also being made by the Hon'ble Member for Anthikad that the proposals for income-tax and the loan have been brought forward rather late. They were found absolutely necessary only when the capital of the previous surplus has been spent out and we have brought forward this proposal simply because they have become very essential now. There was no squandering over schemes of a doubtful character as the Hon'ble Member incidently suggested. It is true that schemes like the Tanneries an the Potteries were tried by us and much money was spent on those schemes. But every nation and country ought to spend on experiments at one time or other and the capital spent on it would eventually be only useful in subsequent times Moreover none of the Hon'ble Members had the courtesy to remember that the whole world has been passing through this disastrous phase for the last few years just after the war was over and our Tanneries and Potteries came into existence only at the time when imes have become bad.

In regard to the salary cut cum income-tax there have been much criticism by the members that the salary cut was not introduced on a graduated scale and so on. It was only tentatively tried. The cut was fixed at 5 and 10 per cent only in the absence of any other scale that would suggest itself and when it was introduced the comparison that it would bear with income-tax was not borne in mind. It will be taken into account when the income-tax comes into existence and when the salary cut happens to go or to stand. Then there were a few remarks of the Hon'ble Members of insufficiency of provision in our Development Departments especially in regard to the Depressed Classes, Panchayats, and so on. My Hon'ble colleagues in the departments would answer them. In regard to the Depressed Classes, however, I would say that four years ago when this was introduced we had spent only 6,000 rupees and in the course of these years we had a very rapid stride whereby the expenditure ran into over a lakh of rupees and unfortunately for lack of funds it was reduced only by a very small sum for the year 1108. I hope I have touched on all points of a general nature and I would leave the others to my departmental colleagues to answer.

The House rose for the day at 4-55 p. m.

C. J. MATHEW,
Secretary to the Council.

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